

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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JOANNE LITTLE ARRESTED: Joanne Little, whose resistance to a rape attempt by a North Carolina jailer in 1974 won nationwide support, was arrested in New York City December 7. Little, who had been serving time on a burglary charge in North Carolina, fled prison there after suffering harassment from prison officials.

Her attorney, William Kunstler, announced she would fight any attempt by North Carolina authorities to force her to return. "It would be dangerous for her to go back," Kunstler said. "She doesn't have a chance in North Carolina."

CARTER'S SOCIAL SECURITY TAX HIKE: Congress is on the verge of passing President Carter's plan for raising Social Security taxes. It is, in the words of *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker, "regressive and severe."

The total increase between 1979 and 1987 amounts to \$227 billion. The payroll tax will rise from 6.05 percent of gross wages to 7.15 percent. In the first year of the new rates, 1979, a worker making \$22,900 will pay \$1,403.77, an increase of \$260.32 over present rates. By 1987, the maximum tax payment will go up to \$3,045.90, triple the present amount.

These increases will far more than offset Carter's proposed income tax cuts, leaving working people with still less real income.

MORE NEW YORK CITY CUTBACKS?: A report from the Citizens Budget Commission, an authoritative big-business group, calls for massive new cutbacks in New York City services in order to "balance the budget." The report, issued December 10, says the worst is yet to come in the city's financial crisis.

Democratic mayor-elect Edward Koch declared his agreement with the need to cut services. "Whatever has to be done, including layoffs, will be done," he asserted.

HIGH COURT BLOCKS PREGNANCY PENALTY: The U.S. Supreme Court ruled December 6 that women workers cannot lose their accumulated seniority when they take leaves of absence to have babies.

However, the court refused to go back on its 1976 decision that federal civil rights laws don't require an employer to allow women to use sick-leave credit when they take a pregnancy leave.

The latest ruling could bar the firing of women who become pregnant, refusal to hire or promote pregnant women, and other forms of discrimination.

JUDGE VETOES WHITE SCHOOL DISTRICT: An attempt to form a nearly all-white school district within the city boundaries of Houston was rejected by a federal judge December 8. The new district would have been 88 percent white. The attempted secession was described by Federal District Judge Finis Cowan as motivated by "discriminatory purpose."

RACISTS DRIVE BLACK FAMILY FROM HOME: Cornell and Geraldine Cook have been forced to abandon

their new North Carolina home. The Cooks, both employed by the GTE Sylvania Company in Smithfield, have been the target of racist attacks since they moved in to a predominantly white neighborhood October 1. A cross was burned on their lawn, and several shotgun blasts were fired into their house.

Finally, the Cooks decided to return to Newport News, Virginia, their hometown.

Smithfield is famous for a giant billboard on the outskirts of town—along Interstate Highway 95—proclaiming "Join and Support the United Klans of America. Welcome to Smithfield. Help us fight Communism and Integration."

Although the sign was torn down last March, the sentiments behind it remain untouched.

HIT GRANT FROM PHILIPPINE DICTATOR: Students and faculty at Tufts University Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy have joined in protesting a \$1.5 million grant from Philippines dictator Ferdinand Marcos. More than 250 students and faculty demonstrated at the office of university President Jean Mayer against the grant.

The money is earmarked for a teaching position and three graduate fellowships. Fletcher trains future diplomats and corporate executives.

Critics of the grant point out that the money will make it more difficult for the school to join the growing condemnation of the Marcos regime. The Philippines have been under martial law since 1972, and the regime holds hundreds of political prisoners.

ANTIGAY LEGAL BAN DROPPED: A House-Senate conference committee has voted to drop a ban on spending federal legal-aid money on gay rights. The ban, which was passed by the House in June, was an amendment introduced by Rep. Larry McDonald (D-Ga.), a national council member of the John Birch Society.

The amendment would have prohibited the Legal Services Corporation, a federally funded agency that provides legal services for poor people, from spending money for "legal assistance for any proceeding or litigation in any disputes or controversies arising out of homosexuality or so-called gay rights."

U.S. CAMPAIGN TO FREE DZHEMILEV: Amnesty International in New York has announced a "telegram tree" to Soviet authorities to win the freedom of Mustafa Dzhemilev, a leader of the Crimean Tatars. Dzhemilev's fourth jail term—two-and-a-half years—is up December 22. International pressure is important because Dzhemiliv was last arrested three days before his third prison term ended.

Dzhemilev has been a target of Stalinist persecution because he champions the right of his people to return to their traditional homeland. The Crimean Tatars were expelled to Siberia and Central Asia by Stalin in 1944.

Telegrams should be sent to Camp Commander, 692710, Primorsky Krai, Khasansky Raion, St. Primorsk, p/ya 267/26, USSR; and to Procurator General Rudenko, the Kremlin, Moscow, USSR.

—Arnold Weissberg

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Funds needed to meet bail

U.S. gov't holds Marroquin for ransom

By Arnold Weissberg

As we go to press, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is demanding \$10,000 bail on Mexican political refugee Hector Marroquin, refusing to release him from a Texas



HECTOR MARROQUIN

Militant/Margaret Winter

jail although his ninety-day term for "attempting to illegally enter the country" was up December 15. The outrageously high bail set must be paid in cash or in government bonds that do not mature within the next year.

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), which has been organizing support for Marroquin's request for political asylum, issued an urgent fund appeal to meet the INS ransom demand. Anyone who can help should contact USLA at 853 Broadway, suite 414, New York, New York 10003, or call (212) 254-6062.

Because the Mexican government opposes Marroquin's political views, it has falsely accused him of murder and "subversion." He faces torture, long imprisonment, and possible death if he is forced to return to Mexico.

For this reason, he has appealed for political asylum in the United States. But the INS is instituting deportation hearings against him.

Even when his supporters are able to raise the \$10,000, Marroquin will remain under INS jurisdiction. The INS will keep him under virtual house arrest, forbidding him to leave Harris County (Houston) without INS permission. He will also be denied a work permit.

These blatantly undemocratic res-

trictions make it impossible for Marroquin to earn a living. They also function as a gag order, since he will effectively be prevented from traveling to publicize his case.

Margaret Winter, Marroquin's attorney, told the *Militant* she would file a legal challenge to the high bail. She said the bail in similar cases is usually \$1,000 to \$2,000.

Winter said she will also challenge the INS refusal to grant Marroquin a work permit and the denial of his right to travel.

The government hasn't made a decision yet on Marroquin's appeal for asylum. The INS now says it will begin deportation proceedings against him January 17, even though it still hasn't ruled on his asylum request.

Marroquin was a student activist at the university in Monterrey in Mexico. In 1974 a university librarian was gunned down on a city street. Cops arrested several students. Within days, Marroquin's picture was splashed across the front pages of the local papers, accusing him of the crime.

Recognizing the imminent danger to his life, he fled to the United States in April 1974 and lived in Chicago and Houston. He has a wife and a son who was born in Chicago.

Since he left Mexico, the regime has continued to pin fraudulent charges on

him. He is accused of participation in a shootout with cops at a Monterrey bakery. But at the time the shootout took place, Marroquin was in a Galveston, Texas, hospital recovering from an auto accident.

Marroquin is also falsely accused of membership in the September 23 Communist League, a group advocating guerrilla warfare. Marroquin never belonged to the organization and strongly disagrees with it politically.

This charge is especially serious, because other people accused of membership in the group have "disappeared" after arrest. The Mexican government operates secret prison camps where brutal torture is the norm.

A fellow student of Marroquin's at the university, also accused in the librarian's 1974 murder, was arrested in April 1975. No one has seen him since.

Marroquin's asylum request, publicized by USLA, has been endorsed by hundreds of people around the country.

USLA asks that messages and telegrams protesting the high bail and travel and work restrictions on Marroquin be sent to INS Commissioner Leonel Castillo, 425 I Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20536, with a copy to USLA.

As 'reverse bias' suits mount

Movement figures hail anti-'Bakke' march

By John Hawkins

As the U.S. Supreme Court continues its deliberations on the *Bakke* decision new threats to affirmative-action programs are taking shape with increasing speed.

The legal battering ram in this assault on programs designed to end race and sex discrimination in employment and education is the false argument of "reverse discrimination."

The California State Supreme Court employed this argument in handing down the *Bakke* decision, which declared unconstitutional a minority-admissions program at a University of California medical school.

Recently a U.S. appeals court made a similar "reverse discrimination" ruling overturning an affirmative-action job-training program at the Kaiser Aluminum plant outside New Orleans. The Kaiser job-training program was designed to bring the percentage of Blacks in skilled jobs at the plant up to the percentage of Blacks in the population of the surrounding area.

In handing down its decision, the court ruled that because Kaiser had not been charged with discrimination, the program was unconstitutional. In addition, the court argued that the program violated Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination in employment.

This case, along with many others that level similar attacks on affirmative-action programs, could shortly be on its way to the U.S. Supreme Court. How the court rules on the *Bakke* case now before it will undoubtedly set the precedent for future rulings on affirmative-action suits.

While the court deliberates, however, affirmative-action supporters are preparing to mount a nationwide display of opposition to the attack on equality for oppressed nationalities and women embodied in the *Bakke* decision.

The National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision, which sponsored

the October anti-*Bakke* protests, recently called for February and April demonstrations and an April 15 march on Washington to reverse the *Bakke* ruling.

At its December 2-3 National Student Antiracist Strategy Meeting, the National Student Coalition Against Racism endorsed the February and April anti-*Bakke* protests and decided to make the fight to reverse the *Bakke* ruling a central NSCAR campaign.

Support for the actions over the past week has come from many quarters.

Charles Ogletree, national chairperson of the Black American Law Students Association—one of the organizations that helped initiate October's anti-*Bakke* protests—told the *Militant*:

"BALSA believes that the decision to call a national march on Washington, D.C., April 15 is a bold and courageous step. It's imperative that the groups that have been fighting to reverse the *Bakke* decision participate in this endeavor."

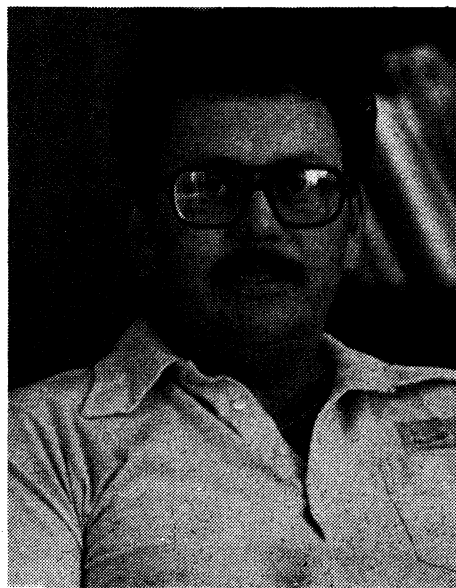
Ogletree said that BALSA would encourage its chapters on the regional and local level to participate in the activities to help inform the public of the broad and detrimental ramifications of the case.

"We continue to express our support," he said, "to those groups who feel, as we do, that the *Bakke* decision can have an unparalleled destructive effect on affirmative-action programs. And we will continue to work with all those organizations that see direct action as an imperative in responding to the kind of racist attack that the *Bakke* decision represents."

Support for the April 15 march on Washington also came from Texas Raza Unida Party leader José Angel Gutiérrez.

"I applaud the efforts of any person or groups who are trying to pressure the Supreme Court to rule in favor of minorities and against Allan Bakke," Gutiérrez said.

He noted that "the Supreme Court does not represent minorities. It repre-



JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ

Militant/Harry Ring

sents an elitist class that is the cornerstone of this society's system.

"I hope the efforts on April 15 at least draw attention to this problem and the threat the *Bakke* decision poses for all affirmative-action programs—equal employment opportunities, minority opportunities, full employment opportunities, and simply the rights of the excluded to begin being marginally included.

"I hope we have a successful demonstration on that date."

Andres Torres of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party voiced support on behalf of the party's political commission for the actions called by the NCOBD.

"The Puerto Rican Socialist Party wholeheartedly endorses the April demonstrations sponsored by the NCOBD," Torres told the *Militant*. "The threat to basic democratic rights which the *Bakke* decision represents must be halted immediately.

"A setback in the area of higher education sets the precedent for setbacks in all areas where the principle of equal opportunity has been initiated—such as education, health

services, and so forth.

"The *Bakke* decision," he continued, "or any similar decision is essentially a maneuver by the bourgeoisie to roll back people's victories won during the struggles of the 1960s. It is an effort to once more create differences among different sectors of the North American people.

"The mass action being organized by the NCOBD is one important way to mobilize our forces to oppose this new danger. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party, U.S. branch, supports this action and encourages all its North American friends to do likewise."

Ricardo Parra, executive director of the Mid-West Council of La Raza, also expressed support for the actions.

"It's very important that the forces for progress be mobilized," Parra said, "to fight off this horrendous threat now facing all affirmative-action efforts and to fight off the neo-conservative trend that is occurring and to continue the fight against the regular conservative trend that's always been with us."

Carleton Goodlett, publisher of the San Francisco *Sun Reporter*, told the *Militant* he supported the call for a march on Washington.

"The big question," Goodlett said, "is not the fact that 1 out of 40,000 students who applied for entrance to medical school the year Allan Bakke did was allegedly the victim of 'reverse discrimination,' but the fact that out of 40,000 who applied, less than 13,000 were admitted.

"We live in a society that's wealthy enough to educate all young people to the maximum capacity and ability they have.

"Part of what we focus on at the national demonstration should be how to increase opportunities for all young people, which would benefit not only Blacks but also whites who suffer in greater numbers from bad housing, lack of jobs and education, and inefficient health care."

The squeeze on working farmers

By Lynn Henderson

"Say they tell you in June that they're going to cut your pay in half. In July they cut it again. In September they say you aren't going to get anything at all, but they know you love your work and will do it anyway. In October they tell you they're going to charge you for the privilege of staying on the job."

Bruce Quesnell, a Minnesota farmer and leader of the American Agricultural Movement (AAM), was describing what has happened to him and most working farmers in the U.S. this year.

The AAM is a loosely organized movement of farmers that has sprung up with breathtaking speed since its birth a little more than three months ago.

It has a one sentence program: "Full parity for all agricultural commodities, meaning return of the cost of production and a reasonable profit to the growers."

To accomplish this goal the AAM has been organizing farmer demonstrations across the country. On December 14 it began a nationwide strike action calling on farmers to stop buying anything but necessities, to sell nothing, and to grow nothing next spring.

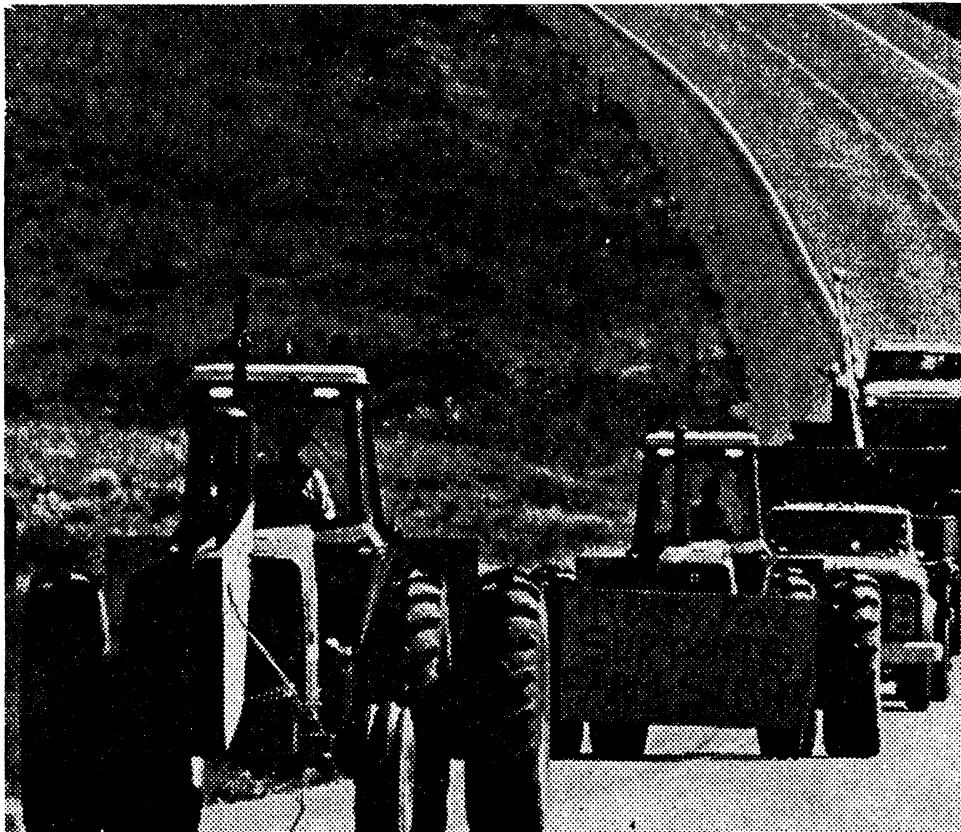
Farmers are in trouble this year. Many of them could be driven to the wall and off their farms. Farm income has declined from \$33 billion in 1973 to an estimated \$20 billion in 1977.

Source of squeeze

The source of the squeeze on farmers in not drought, massive crop failures, or shortages.

On the contrary, after producing bumper crops in response to "expert" predictions in 1973-75 of permanent world food shortages, American farmers are in the familiar position of drowning in the fruits of their own success.

This "over production" has created a "glut" of agricultural produce on the world market, which has driven farm prices to rock bottom levels.



Colorado farmers showed their anger this fall

The price of wheat has fallen from more than \$6.00 a bushel at its peak just a few years ago to \$2.75. The average cost of growing a bushel of wheat is approximately \$2.50.

The price of corn has fallen from \$4.50 to \$2.20 a bushel. Its average production cost is \$3.00 a bushel.

The soybean, the cheapest source of essential protein, was selling for \$12.00 a bushel a couple of years ago. It has fallen to \$5.50 a bushel—about equal to its cost of production.

At the same time the prices of all those things farmers have to buy are skyrocketing—fertilizers, farm machinery, fuel, insecticides, and bank loans.

John Stulp, a Colorado farmer, gestured toward his tractor to drive the point home. "Five years ago that John Deere cost 8,000 bushels and this fall cost 14,500 bushels."

In 1972 total outstanding farmer

debt was \$56.9 billion. Five years later, in January 1977, total farmer debt had risen to the record level of \$102 billion.

You don't need a calculator to realize many farmers are going under.

Ironically, farm production is the one sector of the U.S. economy that does bear some resemblance to the idyllic textbook models constantly held up in praise of the "free enterprise system." According to this model, a multitude of independent producers strive to produce as much as possible, as efficiently as possible, for sale in a "free," competitive market, in order to make as much profit as possible.

America's working farmers have certainly succeeded in the spheres of efficiency and productivity. Just between 1947 and 1974, farm output per worker hour increased almost fivefold.

This productivity and efficiency, however, has produced little in the way of profits—for the working farmer.

Even in flush times, farmers are dependent on second jobs and other off-farm income just to survive. Last year, for example, such off-farm income accounted for 59 percent of the total income received by farmers.

In reality, capitalism bears little resemblance to the apologetic myths spread by the bourgeois economists in defense of the "free enterprise system."

All propaganda to the contrary, capitalists do not prosper and grow by producing as much as possible, as efficiently as possible.

They maximize profits by consolidating into fewer and fewer monopolies, cartels, oligopolies, conglomerates, and trading consortiums; large enough and powerful enough to manipulate market prices and artificially restrict production.

They maximize profits through their control and ownership of both the Democratic and Republican parties. These parties write the tax laws, negotiate the foreign trade policies, manipulate the interest rates, and generally run the government to benefit big business at the expense of working people, including working farmers.

In short, they maximize profits by squeezing more and more wealth out of the labor of farmers and workers.

Food profiteers

According to the Department of Agriculture farmers, who play the central role in food production, now receive a mere forty cents out of every dollar spent for food. The large processors, retail chains, and shippers get the lion's share.

It's been an ideal arrangement for the food profiteers. The farmers do the work; carry the investment burden in land, machinery, and livestock; assume the risks of climate, disease, and blight—and the processing and distribution monopolies reap the profits.

And they reap these profits regardless of agricultural boom or bust. The prices charged by the monopolies have little to do with supply and demand. Despite plummeting farm prices for more than two years, food prices to consumers continue to climb—providing superprofits for these monopolies.

In addition, the vertically integrated, giant agribusiness combines—who can absorb the periodic bust prices in raw agricultural produce and still turn a handsome profit on their processing, wholesaling, and even retailing operations—then use these profits to buy up additional prime farmland at bargain prices.

The Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago reports that farmland prices in Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin are already declining for the first time since 1960.

The family farm, caught in a three-way squeeze between the banks, low prices, and the expanding factory farms, is rapidly being driven out of

Continued on page 26

Protest in Atlanta

By Jeff Miller

ATLANTA—The parking spaces reserved for the governor, secretary of state, and other Georgia officials were taken over December 10 by Massey-Ferguson tractors.

By noon 8,000 to 10,000 tractors driven by Georgia farmers had jammed the state capital. The Atlanta stadium parking lot was full, and the tractors were backed up, five abreast, for miles.

The farmers' protest climaxed a three-day trek from as far away as the Florida and South Carolina state lines. It was typical of the many demonstrations organized by the American Agricultural Movement in scores of cities across the country during the week.

At the rally on the Georgia capitol steps 3,000 farmers and their families huddled in the twenty-two degree weather. They wore blue and red caps carrying the slogan "We support agriculture strike." They cheered speakers demanding the U.S. Department of Agriculture set 100 percent parity for farm prices.

Signs mounted on the tractors reflected the farmers' sentiments: "To hell with the Farm Bureau"; "100 percent parity or farmers must strike"; "If elections were held today would Jimmy win? Hell no!" A sign on another tractor read, "The banks

own them, we drive them."

One rally speaker said he was sorry farmers had to resort to public protests. "But we have to," he added. "I've sat back and watched the giant corporations push the independent farmer back. They are taking over the land. Consumers haven't begun to see what high prices are, if this continues."

"All we are doing is expressing our opinion," said another farmer, Lindsey Thomas. "In the past decade we've seen all kinds of groups stand up and demand their rights; it's time the farmer did too. Our little 4 percent [of the population] can bring the big agriculture business to a halt."

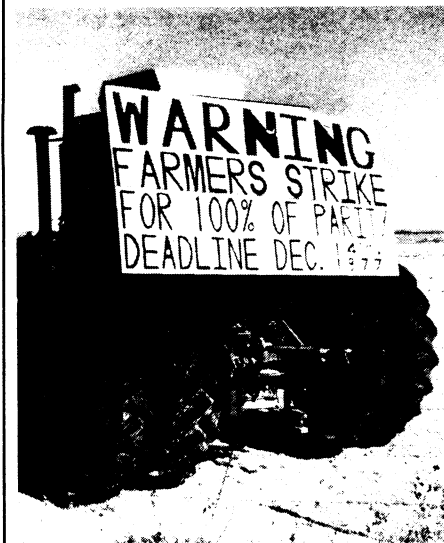
Placards announced support from Teamsters Local 528 whose members transport farm produce.

No state officials walked up the steps to their offices in the capitol building that Saturday. More than twenty tractors were driven up the steep steps during the demonstration and parked.

More tractors surrounded the statue of Tom Watson on the capitol lawn. Watson was a prominent populist leader who supported the farmers' cause in the last century.

As I left I noticed his statue was wearing one of the blue and red caps with the slogan "We support agriculture strike."

What is parity?



The concept of "parity" that many farmers have raised in recent demonstrations was developed during the depression of the 1930s.

The theory was to pick a period in which farmers had relative prosperity (1910-1914 was used) and compare current farm prices, costs, and profits with that base period. Farmers then would be assured a living wage, when necessary, through government subsidies in the form of price supports that would bring them up to the base period.

The "parity" formula has several serious drawbacks for farmers. For one thing, the 1910-1914 period was prosperous for farmers relative only to other years. Even during 1910-1914 farmers got only half their fair share of the national income relative to other sectors of the population.

In addition, price supports have generally been computed on the basis of less than 100 percent parity. This has meant that even when farmers are receiving price supports, they have sustained serious reductions in their already modest incomes.

—L.H.

Are high school students moving to right?

By José G. Pérez

NEW YORK—On the last day of November there was a story in the *New York Times* headlined "Survey Finds Teen-Agers Are More Conservative."

It said a majority of high school students surveyed supported the death penalty, censorship, and the present or an even higher war budget.

Usually I take these articles with a grain of salt. In this case, the group surveyed was students chosen for "Who's Who Among American High

School Students" by school officials. Hardly a representative sample.

"That survey is a setup," Chuck Petrin, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, told me. The YSA is an organization active on high school and college campuses.

"Reading that poll," he said, "you'd think that students are moving to the right. But it isn't so. The same problems working people face—lack of jobs, cuts in social services, continuing attacks on the rights of Blacks and women—are critical issues for high

school students too."

Petrin said the high school work of the YSA will be an important aspect of the group's national convention taking place in Detroit December 28—January 1.

He suggested I conduct my own poll of students attitudes by visiting one of the New York high schools where the YSA gets a good response to its newspaper, the *Young Socialist*.

So I talked with students at Seward Park High School on the Lower East Side. The school is majority Black and Puerto Rican.

The main concern at Seward Park is education and jobs. That sounds like two problems, but students see it as one—every skill they don't learn in high school is another reason they won't be hired when they graduate.

"I'm eighteen and never had a job," said Henry James Morgan, a quiet senior who wants to be an astronomer if he can get a scholarship to go to college.

"I looked all last summer and summer before that, but it's hard. There's nothing to do." So instead he spent his summer playing basketball and reading books on astronomy borrowed from the public library.

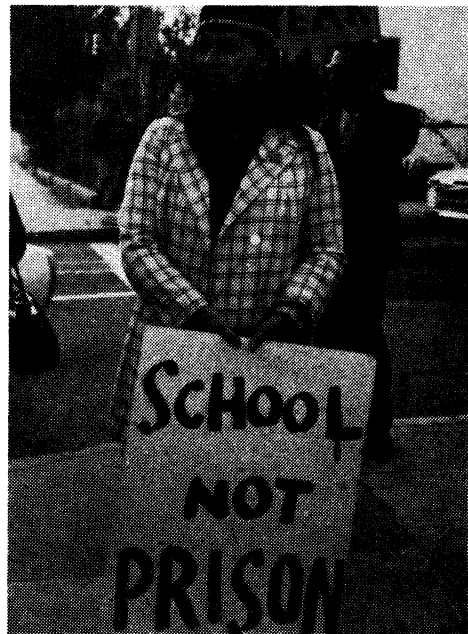
"I've been taking all the sciences to get ready for college," he explained. "But the courses here aren't good like some of the schools uptown, so I try to learn what I can on my own."

Jimmy Torres, a Puerto Rican sophomore, agreed. "I think the number one priority has got to be jobs." His father was out of work for more than a year before getting a job as an orderly at Bellevue hospital.

"That was my happiest Christmas," Torres says, recalling his father's finding a job. "He took his first paycheck and bought me and my sister presents and a Christmas tree. The year before we didn't even have enough money for a tree."

Torres says he speaks only a little Spanish, "what I pick up on the street." He's studying the language now, but "like everything else, they don't teach you much, just enough to pass a test so the teacher doesn't get fired."

Faced with the job crisis and declining educational opportunities, all the students I talked to thought more money should be diverted to social



services, not the war budget. Many said the war budget is already too big.

I also talked about the death penalty and abortion.

One young Black was surprised to hear that almost half the people on death row are Blacks. "You sure that's true? It just sounds like they're out to 'get niggers' again."

One woman was fuming about Congress's reenactment of the Hyde amendment forbidding use of federal funds for abortions: "They have too many old, white, foolish, racist men in Congress, that's all."

She added that she's recently had an abortion paid for by state medicaid funds, so she's been following the debate in Congress. She had to use her older sister's Medicaid card so her parents wouldn't find out. New York is one of the few states still funding abortions.

"These are some of the reasons why high school students are joining the YSA," Petrin told me when I returned. "Their own situation tells them that there is no alternative but to change this system and build a socialist society."

"At our convention, we will be discussing high school work in the fight for abortion rights, for jobs, against racism, and for a decent education. High school students will also meet in workshops to discuss winning more students to the revolutionary socialist movement."

Socialist rally



Hear Pedro Camejo
1976 Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate

Great Lakes Ballroom, Michigan Inn
16400 J. L. Hudson Drive, Southfield, Mich.

Fri., Dec. 30, 8 p.m.

YSA nat'l convention Detroit: Dec. 28-Jan.1

☐ I want to attend the YSA convention.

☐ I want to join the YSA.

☐ Send me more information.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

School _____ Phone _____

All sessions of convention at Michigan Inn. Return to: YSA, P.O. Box 471
Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Campaign set to free Costa Rican prisoners

By Arnold Weissberg

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has begun a campaign to win the release of eight political prisoners in Costa Rica. The eight were arrested November 23 after a peaceful demonstration for better housing conditions in Limoncito was attacked by police.

A ninth prisoner, Marvin Wright Lindo, a prominent labor and Black movement leader, was released after international protests. Wright had been charged with "moral responsibility" for the demonstration, although he was not even in the city at the time.

Six of the eight remaining prisoners are activists from the Limoncito community. The other two are members of the Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores (OST), a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

One of the eight is OST presidential candidate Carlos Coronado Vargas. Coronado has been arrested twice since the police attack. In addition, the OST national headquarters was raided by police.

In San Francisco, a USLA-sponsored picket line at the Costa Rican consulate December 6 denounced the arrests. San Francisco USLA supporters have sent photos and news stories about the

protest to the Costa Rican press. The San Francisco chapter is also soliciting protest messages from Black community leaders to be sent to the Costa Rican government.

The Los Angeles chapter of USLA held a picket line at the Costa Rican consulate December 8.

The USLA national office sent a protest letter to the Costa Rican Embassy in Washington, D.C., which read in part: "The American public will take

note of a brutal police attack November 23 on a peaceful demonstration of women and children. . . . Our committee is now launching a campaign to publicize these facts, these violations of human rights to the American people."

The Costa Rican government has often boasted of its commitment to democracy and human rights and is considered to be sensitive to international pressure on this question.

Messages can be sent to President Daniel Oduber Quirós, San José, Costa Rica; with copies to USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

USLA also says there is an urgent need for funds to meet the legal expenses of defending the eight political prisoners. Contributions can be sent to the USLA national office at the above address.

USLA urges protest of arrests in Chile

In an emergency appeal, USLA has urged that protests be sent to the Chilean government concerning the arrest of five people alleged to be members of the Trotskyist group Liga Comunista (Communist League). The group is banned in Chile.

Chilean police announced the arrests on November 29, according to the Santiago daily *El Mercurio*. The five are Carlos Arturo Altamirano Corder, twenty-three; Héctor Víctor Gómez Orellana, twenty-seven; José Gabriel Cea Muñoz, twenty-four; Mario Roberto Godoy Jara, twenty-six; and Rosa Ester Fuentes

Polanco, twenty-seven.

They were formally charged with holding "regular meetings of a subversive character" in violation of the "State Internal Security Act." USLA reports that the five are being held incommunicado.

"In such political cases the norm is to torture those arrested," the committee warns.

Protest letters and telegrams should be sent to the Chilean Embassy, 1730 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; and to Gen. Augusto Pinochet, Edificio Diego Portales, Santiago de Chile.

The impact such protests can have

on the junta was confirmed in a separate incident. On November 21 Chilean police arrested Alejandro and Anna Rita Rojas. While Anna Rita was released four days later, the government refused to acknowledge it was still holding her husband. Often in such cases where no charges are made, and the arrest is not announced, the prisoner "disappears," only to be found dead later.

However, quick action by supporters of human rights resulted in protest messages being sent to the Chilean government from the United States and Europe. Alejandro Rojas was freed two weeks later.

Zimbabwean students say:

'We won't be trained as Western puppets'

By Omari Musa

The complicity of United States companies and universities in propping up the racist white-minority regimes in southern Africa is well known.

During the past year students have held protests demanding that many universities get rid of stock they hold in corporations that invest in South Africa, Namibia, and Rhodesia.

Protests have also taken place demanding U.S. corporations withdraw altogether from those countries.

Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh and Allegheny Ludlum Industries, a U.S. steel producer, have taken their complicity a step further.

CMU and Allegheny Ludlum have set up a Rhodesia project to "train top administrators in a future Black-ruled Zimbabwe."

The program is the brain child of Allegheny Ludlum Vice-president E. F. Andrews. Three deans of the CMU Graduate School of Urban and Public Affairs (SUPA) made five trips to Rhodesia to concretize the program.

According to Pittsburgh-area newspapers, the program has the support of the Rhodesian government, the U.S. State Department, and private industry.

The CMU SUPA brought twenty-five Rhodesian students to the United States, nineteen of whom are Black. SUPA Associate Dean Marion Oliver commented, "The hope is that if you get enough people trained in management, you won't have chaos when majority rule takes over."

However, the Black students enrolled in the SUPA program did not know what Oliver, the Smith government, Allegheny Ludlum, and the State Department had in mind.

When they discovered what the object of the CMU program was, eight resigned.

I spoke with two of the students, Robinson Khosah and Nelson Thema, at the National Student Coalition Against Racism's National Student Antiracist Strategy Meeting held in Washington, D.C., several weeks ago.

They talked about the educational system in Rhodesia that led them to

accept the CMU scholarships.

"In Zimbabwe, as far as Black students are concerned, there are big restrictions on the amount of education you can get.

"First of all," Thema said, "there are two educational systems—one for whites and one for Blacks. Blacks outnumber whites twenty to one. Yet there are very few schools for Blacks, especially at the secondary level. This restriction means that very few students can get into secondary school."

"But the restrictions do not end there," Khosah added.

"If you get through the restrictions imposed at the primary school level, the government adds more in secondary school."

Khosah said that students have to fund their own education. "For example, if you do find a place in the university, each student has to pay for it."

Thema and Khosah pointed out that there is only one university in Rhodesia—The University of Rhodesia.

"At the university level Black students face further restrictions," Thema said. "There are over 6 million Blacks in Zimbabwe and just over 250,000 whites. Yet until a year ago whites were the majority in the university. So whenever Blacks have an opportunity to go abroad for education, they take it."

Thema and Khosah said CMU officials told them and the more than 200 other students who applied for the CMU scholarships that the program was strictly educational and not political.

However, no sooner had they arrived in the United States than press statements appeared claiming the opposite. An article in the Greensburg, Pennsylvania, *Tribune Review* claimed the students were obligated "to work three years with an eventual majority-rule government."

An article in the Clearfield, Pennsylvania, *Progress* reported that the students were "hand picked." It went on to say, "In exchange for training in economics, labor management and



Militant/Omari Musa

Robinson Khosah (left) and Nelson Thema: victims of corporation-university scheme to train neocolonial administrators for Zimbabwe.

accounting, each student has agreed to return to Rhodesia and work for a majority rule government."

"This is not what we had in mind when we came to the U.S.," Thema said. "We are not committed to work in any government at all."

When the students confronted CMU officials about the reports, they were told the media had misquoted them.

"But," Khosah said, "in one of the packets the university distributed to corporations to raise funds there were papers that say we signed an agreement to the effect that we will work for a majority-rule government for three years. That is not true. We are being used."

"We then made it clear to CMU," Khosah continued, "that we were not going to be part of a program designed to create people who would be a stumbling block to the people's revolution and that we were not going to be

trained to become Western puppets."

The university gave the students two choices: shut up and stay with the program, or be sent back to Rhodesia.

Thema and Khosah said they and the other six students who quit the CMU-Allegheny Ludlum program are now trying to get into other universities to continue their education.

The university's ultimatum leaves them in a very serious situation. It is now possible for the U.S. government to deport them to Rhodesia. At best this could cost them a stay in one of Ian Smith's jails. At worst it could cost them their lives.

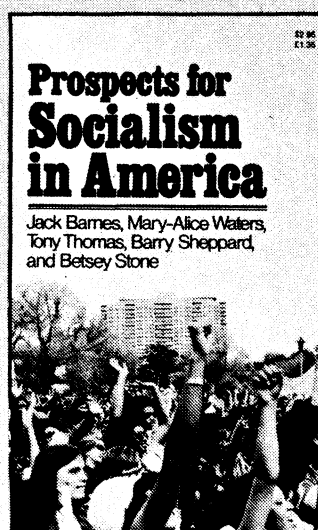
The State Department's involvement in this scheme makes the students' situation that much more precarious.

It also underscores the urgent need for supporters of the liberation struggles in southern Africa and partisans of civil liberties to come to the defense of the embattled Zimbabwean students.

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Ky. miners vow fight despite hardships

By Peggy Brundy

AGES, Ky.—Coal miners here in Harlan County believe the national contract strike will last two or three months, and they don't think that's such an awfully long time.

After all, they struck the nearby Brookside mine for more than a year in 1973 and 1974 to win a United Mine Workers contract.

They are 100 percent solid for the UMWA, despite the hardships the strike will bring.

"I know there's a good chance I will lose my pension as the strike goes on," one retired miner told the *Militant*, "but I'm willing to do that to help support the guys on strike."

Sudie Crusenberry, former president of the Brookside Women's Club, talked to us about the financial problems of the area and its people, problems made worse by a recent flash flood caused by

strip mining. Crusenberry played a prominent role in the documentary film *Harlan County, USA*.

One miner asked if I knew how he could get medical coverage for his baby boy. The UMWA medical benefits were totally cut off with the beginning of the strike, and he had already spent \$350 on hospital bills for his child. I told him of an area hospital plan I had read about for \$50 a month. "But where would I get \$50?" he asked.

Some of the retired miners around here are worried about organizing, especially in eastern Kentucky where 70 percent of coal miners are nonunion. They fear a return to the days when, as one retiree described it, the coal operators "enslaved" miners.

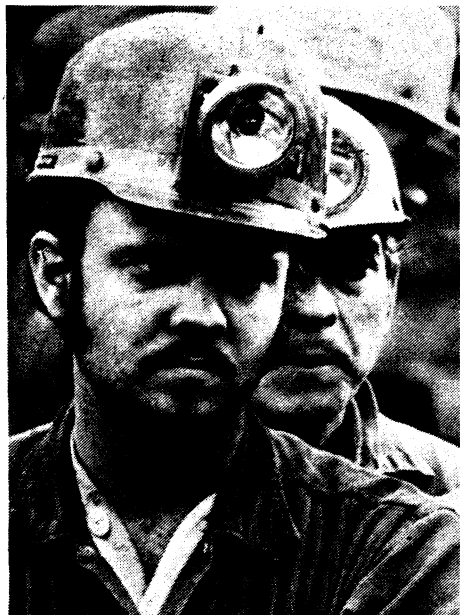
The conditions and wages in the nonunion mines—some of which are "organized" by the procompany Southern Labor Union—would be much worse if it weren't for the pressure of the UMWA.

Nonunion miners in Eastern Kentucky are supportive of the strike and the UMWA, or so our *Militant* reporting and sales team found them in Hazard. We sold seven subscriptions to the *Militant* going door to door.

One young miner, who had just moved back to his hometown of Hazard and found work in a nonunion mine, told team member Charles Rosenberg he thought it important that all miners follow what the UMWA is doing, that it affects all coal miners.

In two days our team sold twenty subscriptions to miners and supporters interested in reading a pronoun paper for a change.

In Ages, one woman bought a subscription from team member Mary Gutekanst and then took ten extra copies to show around.



Utah strikers appeal to nonunion workers

By Clemens Bak

PRICE, Utah—The 120 striking coal miners here are appealing to nonunion mine workers to join them in their walkout.

The mineowners and Gov. Scott Matheson, however, are trying to make this request for solidarity look like a violent confrontation between nonunion miners and members of the United Mine Workers.

Even before the strike began December 6, Carbon County Sheriff Al Passic publicly expressed his "concerns" about possible violence and vowed to keep the roads to nonunion mines open with the help of state police.

Now Price—a town 120 miles south of Salt Lake City—looks like an armed camp, with nearly 100 highway police (one-third of the state's entire force) patrolling the area.

"We do not need troopers here," one UMWA picketer told the *Militant*. "There's no violence. In fact, they're being sent here to cause trouble."

All the miners intended to do was distribute flyers to the nonunion workers and try to talk to them on their way into work.

"You cannot honestly believe that you would have the benefits and high wages you are getting if it wasn't for the striking and lobbying in Congress that is done by the UMWA," reads the flyer distributed by members of UMWA Local 9958 from the Kaiser Steel Coal Mine.

"Our brothers have died in cave-ins, been torn apart by machinery, disabled and blinded, so that we can ALL

enjoy safer working conditions.

"Remember the union men who went hungry, owed their souls to the company store, fought and died on the picket line, so that YOU can get the wages you now enjoy!"

"Stop work now!"

While this appeal didn't make national news, the burning of a bridge leading into the nonunion Plateau Mine did. It was a twelve-foot wooden bridge over a creek, and the creek was soon bulldozed through so that traffic could get into the mine.

But meanwhile it made for such sensationalist headlines as the *Washington Post's* "Gunfire, Bridge Burning Among Incidents as Nationwide Coal Strike Turns Ugly."

There is no evidence of who burned the bridge, but county Judge Don Tibbs quickly issued an injunction prohibiting the UMWA from "participating in or encouraging others to participate in any picketing activities at or near" any operations of three nonunion companies in Carbon and Emery counties.

Now the union strikers are prevented from talking to the nonunion workers, who are bused into work with a state police escort.

With the mineowners, governor, sheriff, and state police all lined up against them, the strikers appreciate any support they get.

Having examined an issue of the *Militant*, one striker told me, "You can send a bundle of these papers down here. Strikers would like to be able to read a newspaper that's on their side."

Issues in mine strike

WHO'S ON STRIKE? The United Mine Workers' 1974 agreement with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) expired December 6, forcing 130,000 miners to strike. More than 30,000 other members of the UMWA with separate expiring contracts also walked out.

WHO DOES THE UMWA REPRESENT? Membership in the union includes about 160,000 working miners and mine construction workers and more than 80,000 retired miners.

UMWA miners produce about half of the nation's soft coal. The expanding strip mine operations in the West are largely non-UMWA. In the eastern coalfields, production in the largest coal-producing states breaks down as follows: 96 percent of West Virginia is UMWA-produced; Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, 80 percent; and Kentucky, between 40 and 50 percent.

WHAT ARE THE ISSUES?

UMWA miners consider as top priority in the contract talks the restoration of their health benefits cut last July and a provision granting them the local right to strike to enforce the contract. The last contract had a three-stage grievance procedure but no right to strike.

The BCOA has threatened the UMWA with "extinction" unless the union agrees to a no-strike clause, along with other provisions to step up productivity.

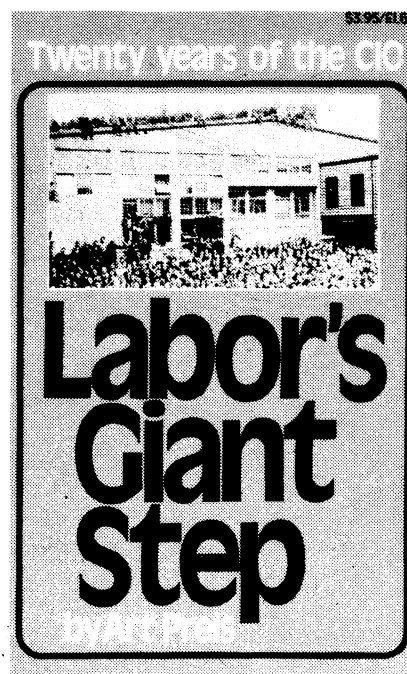
WHAT BENEFITS DO STRIKERS RECEIVE? None. Not only do they receive no strike benefits from the UMWA, but all health and death benefits were completely cut off when the strike began. In addition, pensions will be reduced or eliminated at the beginning of January if the strike is still on.

HOW LONG WAS THE 1974 NATIONAL STRIKE? Forty-two days.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Reading on miners' history



The role of the United Mine Workers Union in the labor upsurges of the 1930s and 1940s.

Includes the UMWA strike during World War II, and how the miners won.

By Art Preis
538 pp., \$3.95 paper

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Chicano unionists support Ky. miners

By Mark Schneider

SAN ANTONIO—Sixty people, mostly Chicano trade unionists, turned out here December 3 for a meeting in support of striking coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky.

United Mine Workers organizer Fred Wright and Stearns striker Roy Keith told the meeting about the issues in their year-and-a-half fight for a union contract at the Justus mine in southern Kentucky.

A videotape was shown of the October 17 state police attack on Stearns strikers and their supporters.

The meeting, held at the Mexican American Unity Council, was chaired by Jaime Martínez, organizer for the International Union of Electrical Radio and Machine Workers.

The purpose of the meeting, said Martínez, was to "bring to the attention of workers in San Antonio the plight of our brothers in Stearns, Kentucky."

San Antonio AFL-CIO Council President Connie Truss asked what sort of governor would allow state troopers to play such a strike-breaking role, and what relations

the UMWA had with the governor of Kentucky.

"COMPAC—the Coal Miners' Political Action Committee—endorsed Julian Carroll, the present governor, in the election," answered Wright. "The other guy running against him used to own the Stearns mine, so we figured you couldn't support him."

"We met three times with the governor so far. His last words to us were, 'You've got thirty minutes to get those picketers away from that mine.'"

Truss and other labor officials at the meeting pointed out that labor solidarity is the key to winning any strike. Marcos Calderón and Rudy Rodríguez of IUE Local 780 noted that cops had escorted scabs on city buses through their picket line at Friedrich's air-conditioning plant last year, and that the transit union's failure to protest that had hurt their strike.

Joe Medina of the AFL-CIO's Latin American Committee for Labor Action and Joe Soares of the American Clothing and Textile Workers also pledged support.

A collection was taken, and Chicano activist Mario Cantú pledged \$500 to support the Stearns strikers.

Stearns strike spirit high



Militant/Nancy Cole

By Peggy Brundy

STEARNS, Ky.—Striking coal miners here are still high-spirited as they enter their seventeenth month on strike. Ten strikers have been in jail now for nearly two months, convicted of having violated a court order limiting the size of their picket line.

Faye Keith, vice-president of the Justus Mine Women's Club, told the *Militant* that the women's group grew stronger after the October 17 state police attack on strikers and

their supporters. The club, which had been down to about eighteen members, is now up to sixty-two.

Seventeen scabs cross the picket line each day to "work" inside the mine compound, but no coal is produced. The strikers here realize the outcome of the national United Mine Workers strike will affect their fight. But they're confident they will win their organizing strike here no matter what. "We can't lose this," one striker said. "It's too big. It affects the whole UMWA."

Aimed at dividing union

Coal bosses whip up 'red scare'

By Nancy Cole

News of what the coal operators are doing in contract talks with the United Mine Workers of America is sparse. It sounds as though the Bituminous Coal Operators Association simply sends a tape recording to each contract meeting with the voice of BCOA top Joseph Brennan railing about "low productivity" and an "unstable work force."

Despite little real progress in the negotiations, however, the coal operators are busy on other fronts.

Their primary concern is to prevent a powerful, united fight by the miners. One of their tactics is to use the time-honored method of trying to divide the union through red-baiting.

It's an old game of the bosses and the government. You label someone as a "communist" or a "socialist" and then explain that all communists and socialists have "ulterior motives" and should be suspect.

Red-baiting is divisive because it creates an emotional atmosphere of distrust. Individuals' actions and ideas are no longer considered on their merits, but rather they become tainted because of charges of "communism." No one is immune. Whether you're a communist or not, you become a victim if you have ideas the red-baiters want to discredit.

So it's no surprise that a fresh crop of red-baiting should be sprouting in the coalfields of West Virginia just as the UMWA faces a fierce battle with the mineowners.

The coal operators see their industry "plagued" with wildcat strikes. They're well aware that these walkouts are a genuine, massive response on the part of UMWA members to the companies' disregard for their rights and lives.

But the mineowners have high hopes of breaking that independent spirit once and for all with the next contract. At the very least, they plan to shackle the UMWA ranks with a stiff no-strike clause.

But they know it's not going to be an easy battle. While union heads in other

industries, such as steel, are parading no-strike provisions as the wave of the future, the ranks of the UMWA have let their officials know they want a right-to-strike clause. They said so in an overwhelming vote at the 1976 UMWA convention.

So the coal bosses have set out to divide the miners in any way they can and to turn other workers—especially those in the steel and rail industries—against them. They try to pit pensioners against working miners, and strip miners against those who work underground.

And now they're trying to divide the miners with sensationalistic "revelations" of "communist infiltration."

For their immediate purposes, they have singled out a small group based primarily in southern West Virginia, the Miners Right to Strike Committee, which has negligible support in the union.

All of a sudden the news media has provided the public with "documented proof" that leaders of the committee

are "communists."

"Opinions are divided on the impact of revelations that members of the Miners Right to Strike Committee are members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, a Chicago-based splinter Maoist group," the last in a series of three articles in the *Charleston Gazette* dramatically concludes.

The coal operators make no secret of their central role in this "red scare." *New York Times* reporter Ben Franklin writes that Consolidation Coal Company—the nation's second-largest coal producer—"has compiled informal files on the activities of the Miners Right to Strike Committee."

Consol's Board Chairman Ralph Bailey says, "These guys have cost us hundreds of millions of dollars, and if they are here for the purpose that we suspect, they ought to be chased out of the coal industry."

It's a little hard to believe that Consol is concerned only with ridding the coalfields of RCP members or others who work with the Right to

Strike Committee. The group is isolated. Its November 12 national meeting, for example, attracted only fifteen to twenty people.

No, this attack is more broadly aimed at all those who would challenge the coal industry's right to maim and kill miners for the sake of higher profits. The goal is to smear and intimidate all militants in the union.

Unfortunately, UMWA President Arnold Miller and other union officials have joined in. "Now that the facts are known," Miller told the *New York Times*, "miners will throw out the communists, if they don't get out themselves."

Miller has even suggested that the "radicals" could be in the employ of the companies.

It's sadly ironical that Miller should be the source of such charges, since he himself was the victim of an intense red-baiting campaign when he ran for union president on the Miners for Democracy slate in 1972.

It was the companies' work then, and it remains so today.

Miners who were in the union before the Miners for Democracy administration took office can remember the days when any voice of dissent within the union was branded "communistic" by dictator Tony Boyle.

The MFD victory brought democracy and freedom of discussion to the UMWA, and the union is all the stronger for it.

If not answered effectively, the current redbaiting threatens to return the union to the strongarm days of Boyle.

But by taking the red-baiting head on, by asserting that miners have a right to be members of the UMWA whether they're Democrats, Republicans, socialists, or communists, the miners can defeat this attack and expose its purpose.

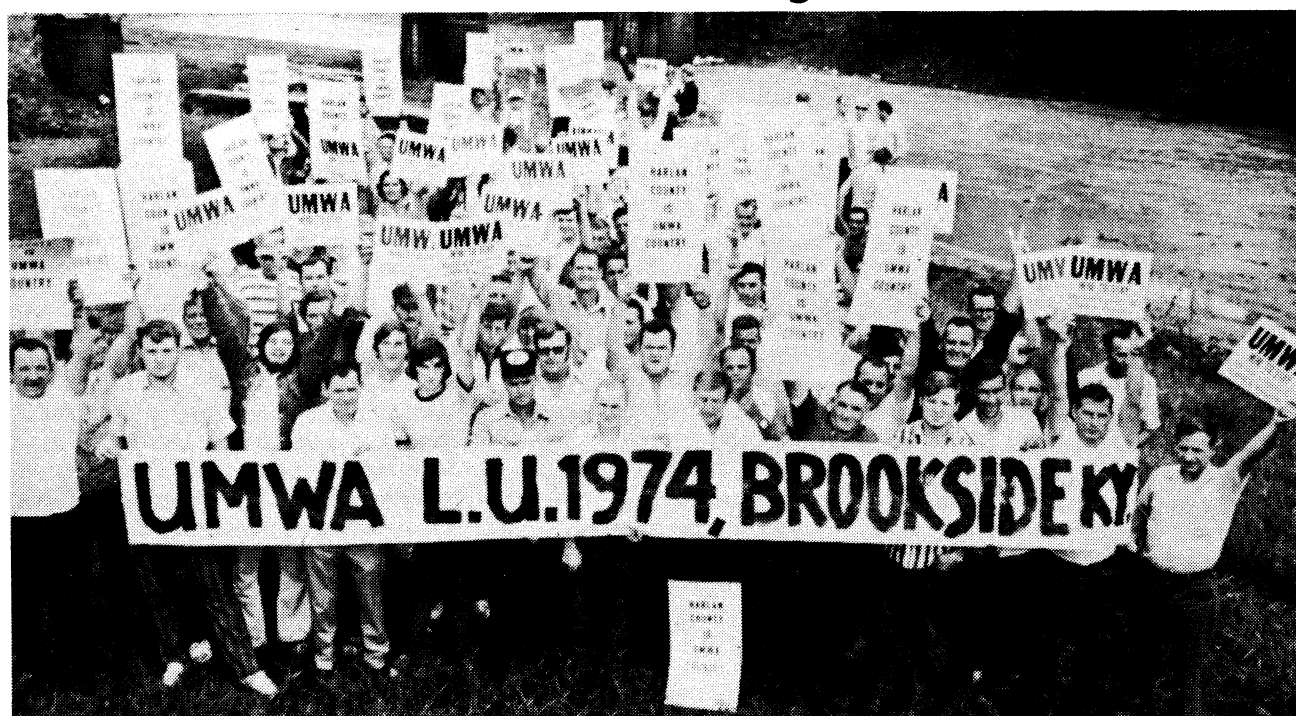
As Harry Patrick, outgoing UMWA secretary-treasurer, put it: "Everybody's got their own philosophy. As long as you pay your dues, you ought to have your say."



1975 strike rally of 2,500 in West Virginia. Miners' wildcats have been massive protests. Coal operators are trying to cover up this fact by charging 'communist infiltration' of UMWA.

Mine union leader discusses state of labor movement

Interview with Harry Patrick



Brookside, Kentucky. 'That's what a union is all about—organizing,' says Harry Patrick.

Earl Dotter

In December 1969 national attention focused on the United Mine Workers of America. Jock Yablonski, along with his wife and daughter, were murdered in their Clarksville, Pennsylvania, home.

Three weeks before, Yablonski had 'lost' the election for UMWA president against union dictator Tony Boyle. Boyle, who had rigged the election, was later convicted of ordering the murders.

On the day of Yablonski's funeral, dissident miners met and formed the nucleus of what became the Miners for Democracy movement.

In December 1972, after a court-ordered reelection, miners jubilantly installed the MFD slate into office. It was an inspiring example for the ranks of all unions.

Rank-and-file miners gained the right to ratify their contract. Control of UMWA conventions was returned to the delegates. The 'UMW Journal' became a voice of the union membership.

Since then, the union has come under intense attack from the coal industry. Thousands of UMWA members have joined walk-outs unauthorized by the international union leadership. Most who worked on the 1972 campaign and became part of the reform administration have resigned or were fired by President Arnold Miller. This has prompted a discussion over what happened to the MFD movement.

UMWA Secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick, who was Miller's running mate on the MFD slate, ran against him in the three-way 1977 presidential contest. Miller was reelected with about 40 percent of the vote.

Patrick's term as secretary-treasurer expires December 22. He was recently interviewed by 'Militant' staff writer Nancy Cole in Washington, D.C.

In the first part of the interview, published in the December 9 'Militant,' Patrick commented on the issues in the UMWA strike. In this final part, he gives his views on the MFD administration and on labor political action.

Question. What happened to the Miners for Democracy movement?

Answer. The same thing that happens to a lot of awfully good movements and awfully good principled people. They get in a position of really doing something, and all at once the position becomes more important than the cause. In order to maintain that, they back up on the issues, rather than facing them head on.

One of the tragedies of our [MFD] administration is that we didn't continue to organize and build the Miners for Democracy. Because that could have always been the watchdog we needed as officers up here, to continually remind us of the things we were fighting for when we were down there in the fields.

It's tough for me to see that a lot of labor leaders look just like the corporate executives that I dealt with down in the fields. There's hardly any difference.

Labor leaders don't meet in the woods like they used to have to. Now they meet on Capitol Hill or in some suite some place in New York. That's not all bad if they're talking about the right things, but that doesn't seem to be happening.

Everybody seems willing to just sit back. The labor movement isn't making anything. When we first took office, I was extremely proud of this organization. I think we gathered the best staff in the labor movement.

We were getting involved in things that the Mine Workers hadn't been involved in in years, such as coalfield housing. We really put together a safety program for the first time. We had to experiment with it, and we fumbled the ball a lot, but we were always headed in the right direction.

Brookside strike

We went into Brookside, and we spent \$1,800,000 [on an organizing drive in Harlan County, Kentucky]. Hell, that's what the money is for. That's what a union is all about—organizing.

All at once, it all came to a halt. It wasn't the fault of the people doing the organizing. It was the fault of the leadership. It became "too expensive." That's ridiculous—organizing and safety can never be too expensive. You spend what you have to.

That happens to be two areas [safety and organizing] that coal miners wouldn't raise the least bit of hell about spending money on. I've had them tell me, "As long as you guys are organizing, you need the money. We'll send it up."

Q. The organizing drive in Stearns, Kentucky, is an important campaign for the UMWA. The strike there has been going on now for nearly a year and a half. What do you think it will take to win that strike?

A. After the state police were sent in, I sent a lengthy memorandum to President Miller. Some of my recommendations were that we do exactly the same thing we did at Brookside. That we rally forces, if it meant we had to bring 10,000 miners down there.

First, we should give those fellas down there that kind of support, and let them know that, hey, we are

behind you and we're concerned about you up here.

When I campaigned in eastern Kentucky in 1972, I met one coal miner after another working in a nonunion mine. He would have all the love in the world for the United Mine Workers.

But he would say, "Look, I had the rug pulled out from under me too many times. I'm not going to take that chance again. I was blackballed down here for ten years, couldn't get a job, because the UMW pulled me out, then when the going got rough they pulled out."

God forbid if we ever lose that strike down there and those men end up in that position. Organizing in eastern Kentucky would be finished for another twenty years. That's how important that strike is.

Commitment there

The commitment is there from the membership. If you could see the donations we get in from retired men, from a guy that's only getting a small pension. I've seen them send their whole check in here and say, "This is for organizing," or "This is for the Stearns strike."

Q. What do you think of some of the legislation top union leaders have been working for, such as the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill?

A. All of them have been so watered down. I haven't had a chance to see what form they now have the Humphrey-Hawkins bill in, but from what I understand, there's no substance to it. What they're saying is, "Well, we'll make an effort over the next few years."

That's not going to get anywhere. I've seen too many things that were so cleverly worded that nothing ever came about.

Q. What did you think of the November 11-13 Democratic Agenda Conference?

A. I thought it was excellent because of the people, the personalities that showed up. That is something a little bit new. It was encouraging to see the presidents of four major unions who were willing to come and speak and not worry about what was going to be written.

Skirted issues

The negative part as I saw it was that everybody seems to be skirting the issues. The emphasis was, "Let's not give up on Jimmy Carter." Of course, I don't think we ought to give up on him, but I think we should be looking in a different direction.

I think we've had enough. We've tried and tried and tried to work within one of the two major parties, and it is simply just not going to work. It's fine until you get them into office, and all at once they shoot right down the middle of the road again.

I've got a philosophy about a third party, a labor party. It's not shared by a lot of people. It's true that a third party has never panned out too well. But it comes down to education. I think a labor party put together with the right kind of educational program could be a damn viable force.

I think it's a strong possibility that we will see the day when we put a candidate into office.

I got a hell of a lot of experience during this [1976 presidential] election because the Mine Workers were part of a labor coalition. For the first time, the UMW sat down with the AFL-CIO unions, AFSCME [American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees], auto workers, machinists, and we put together a coalition that by and large was damn instrumental in putting Jimmy Carter in office.

We started out with a list of Democratic candidates. When you looked at all of them, nobody could get excited about any of them.

If you just look at that coalition, you realize what potential, what a force it could be if labor would just get together on that one point.

Stepping stone

If you look at the raw figures, you see that 20 million Americans belong to labor unions. That's not very good—it's horrible in fact—but 20 million people is a pretty good force. That's a hell of a stepping stone.

We would have the power to say who was going to sit over there [in the White House].

At the Democratic Agenda Conference, nobody was talking about a third party, and that upset me because I thought they ought to at least talk about it. It was never even mentioned.

They said, "Well, if we just really keep the pressure on Jimmy Carter, Jimmy will come across on a few little things."

That's the wrong approach. Sure, keep the pressure on him. But beyond that you ought to be thinking about how do we put *our* person over there. And how do we make a viable labor force, a labor party, in this country and make it work.

Carter's steel plan

In early December the Carter administration unveiled its plan to "save" the steel industry, which claims to be near bankruptcy because of competition from low-priced imports.

The centerpiece of the Carter plan is a "reference price" system. In effect, imports will be prohibited at any price below the reference price. In private industry such an arrangement is known as monopoly price-fixing or conspiracy in restraint of trade. That is illegal. But if government officials rig up a minimum price, it's only their patriotic duty.

In addition, the administration pledged to:

- lower taxes for steel corporations,
- guarantee loans to ailing companies,
- modify pollution standards,
- establish a tripartite panel with representatives from industry, government, and labor to ensure a "cooperative approach to the problems and progress of the steel industry."

The avowed intention of this program is to *raise steel industry profits by \$900 million a year*. The administration further announced that Carter's forthcoming tax program will include new giveaways to all industry, expected to net some \$200 million a year for steel. That brings the grand total to *more than \$1 billion* to be added to steel company profits.

Who foots the bill? You guessed it—working people will pay the price on every count. The steel profiteers immediately announced a new round of price increases, which will affect virtually all other commodities and cut the purchasing power of our paychecks.

To the extent that tax money is given to the steel companies, the rest of us will suffer higher taxes or reduced social services—probably both. And working people will also pay through the higher rates of cancer and other diseases caused by the poisonous pollutants the steel companies say are "too expensive" to clean up.

This profit bonanza is justified by the administration and the Steelworkers union officialdom with the claim that it will restore jobs. But will it? At this point the plan becomes extremely vague.

Some 60,000 steelworkers have been fired or laid off this year. Administration officials have tossed around a figure of "saving" 25,000 jobs—less than half. But it is far from clear that 25,000 workers—or any—will be called back to the plants. The plan may be saying that 25,000 who allegedly would have been laid off will not be. That's an easy game to play. The companies could just as well say they planned to lay off 50,000 or 100,000 workers . . . but decided not to.

The Carter plan includes *no requirement* that any job be saved, any plant be reopened, or anybody be rehired. It is a plan to save steel profits, not steelworkers.

Yet the real cause of steel layoffs is the drive of the corporations for monopoly prices and monopoly profits. Jobs will be saved only through a struggle *against* that profit drive.

No nukes!

It's not supposed to happen.

But on December 13, two explosions rocked the Millstone-1 nuclear power plant in Waterford, Connecticut. The blasts, three hours apart, underline how perilously close we live to a nuclear disaster every minute these power plants operate.

According to Northeastern Utilities, which operates the plant, hydrogen gas mixed with oxygen in the plant exhaust stack and exploded.

Three hours later, the second explosion blew a door off the building, sending radioactive materials into the general environment and seriously contaminating one plant worker.

No one knows if the company has told the truth about what really happened. Northeast Utilities and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission have both sought to minimize the blast. Neither the rich who profit from such plants nor the government's "regulatory" agencies want working people to know the real dangers of nuclear power.

When will the next "accident" happen?

All nuclear power plants are accidents waiting to happen. Every single one should be shut down at once.

The Millstone-1 explosions point to the importance of building a movement against nuclear power. Several antinuclear protests are already planned for next spring (see page 17). The *Militant* urges its readers to join in building these protests.

No nukes!

Fund drive over top!

Since our appeal for the 'Militant' \$50,000 fund drive in the December 2 issue, our readers have responded with unprecedented enthusiasm. One hundred seventy-six readers have sent in donations, totaling \$3,000.

This sum, combined with the recent contributions at 'Militant' fund-raising rallies, takes us well over \$50,000! We thank all our supporters for their help in achieving this victory.

We are still tallying the donations that have just come in. In next week's issue, we will feature a full report on the outcome of the drive. Below we reprint some of the letters that accompanied readers' contributions.

'Keep up good work'

Enclosed is a contribution toward your special fund-raising appeal for the *Militant*. Keep up the good work, but reevaluate your position on Angola and Mozambique.

J. G.

Ithaca, New York

'Worthy cause'

Please find enclosed my donation to your worthy cause, so that you may be a step closer to achieving your goal. You have my best wishes, and may Allah bless this drive of yours so that you may be successful in your achievement.

D. B.

Brooklyn, New York

Outstanding coverage

The *Militant* is an exemplary fighter for socialism! Your coverage of the economic and political struggles has been outstanding.

Yet, I have noticed that you do not have an educational section in which the history and application of Marxism are thoroughly presented.

The direct education of Marxism will not only increase the development of class consciousness, but it will also explain in detail the revolutionary theory of socialism. And, as Lenin said, "Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement."

A. A. Koskinas

West Haven, Connecticut

Best wishes

Enclosed is a check for the fund drive. I enjoy the paper and would send more, but we are living on Social Security now. Best wishes for continued success.

E. K.

Perkasie, Pennsylvania

Unemployed supporter

Enclosed please find payment for one introductory subscription and a contribution to the *Militant*. I am sorry my unemployment will not survive a greater contribution.

Keep up the good work.

M. J.

San Francisco, California

Best in the left

Sorry I can't give more, but the *Militant* is the best in the left and deserves at least this token contribution.

Keep up the good work.

W. T.

Wilmington, Delaware

Appreciates 'Militant'

I thought I'd write a few words along with a small contribution to the *Militant* fund.

Three years ago I was a student at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. A campus team from Boston sold a *Militant* and *Young Socialist* subscription to my roommate. In addition to the *Militant* and *Guardian*, my roommate and I also read *Weekly People*, *Workers World*, and several other left-wing publications.

Even before I met Socialist Workers Party members, I felt that the *Militant* distinguishes itself by its nondogmatism, something appreciated when surrounded by Maoists.

J. M.

State College, Pennsylvania

Spread socialist perspective

Please renew my subscription for one year with the enclosed check. (The remainder is a donation.)

I disagree with your positions sometimes, but I think the *Militant* is doing a lot to spread the socialist perspective. Keep it up.

B. O.

Chicago, Illinois

'Alternative to mass media'

I hope this contribution is enough. My college bill this year is over \$4,000, and I'm still not sure where the money is coming from to pay all of my bills.

The *Militant* is an alternative to much of the mainstream mass media that I have to put up with (along with many others, I assume).

J. J.

Collegeville, Minnesota

Likes labor coverage

Enclosed is my check toward the *Militant* fund drive.

I am happy to see the use of transitional slogans and articles on the trade-union movement. I would like to see a drive to organize the unemployed into a fighting, militant organization led by the labor movement.

C. B.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

'Invaluable'

Enclosed is my donation to the fund drive. I find the *Militant* to be an invaluable tool in the various antisexist and antiracist struggles. Keep up the good work!

J. P.

Columbus, Ohio

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Job-creating schemes

Worth the cost

I would like to be added to your list of subscribers. I would like to have joined sooner, yet even the two dollars needed was hard to come by. But this is one investment that is worth the cost.

Please add me to your list of new subscribers.

Peter Matelyan
Santa Cruz, California

'Bulletin' falsification

The November 22 *Bulletin*, newspaper of the Workers League, published an article falsely charging that "Workers League Central Committee member Sheila Leburg was attacked and manhandled by a dozen Socialist Workers Party members outside a meeting sponsored by the SWP in Los Angeles for Peruvian exile Hugo Blanco. . . ."

The SWP was also accused of barring the Workers League from distributing its literature outside the meeting hall.

Militant readers may be interested in the facts on this case, which bear no resemblance to the *Bulletin's* report.

First, the November 18 meeting was organized by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). The SWP was one of more than a dozen groups that cosponsored the event.

Second, all groups were free to distribute their literature outside the meeting hall.

Third, Leburg was not attacked by SWP members nor by any of the other monitors USLA had organized.

Los Angeles has a large *gusano* (anti-Castro Cuban exile) population and a long history of violent attacks against prominent supporters of the Cuban revolution. Because of this, USLA activists here took steps to ensure Blanco's safety.

One of these was to cordon off a small area at the foot of the stairs leading to the hall where Blanco spoke. This was done so Blanco could be escorted quickly into the auditorium—not to isolate him from political literature, as the *Bulletin* implies.

When Sheila Leburg tried to shove her way through the line of monitors escorting Blanco, she was prevented from doing so. She was not "attacked," "manhandled," "charged at," or "pushed," nor was any attempt made "to knock her down," as the *Bulletin* falsely asserts.

This latest fabrication comes in the context of a protracted factional slander campaign by the *Bulletin* centered around the preposterous assertion that two longtime SWP leaders were accomplices of the Soviet secret police in the assassination of Leon Trotsky. This latest slander was obviously cut from the same cloth.

Rich Finkel
Los Angeles, California

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Persistent high-level unemployment, conservatively estimated at 10 million, is forcing government and industry to look for new ways to create jobs at no extra cost. Some union officials have joined the search.

The Paid Personal Holiday (PPH) program under the auto union contract gives over the life of the contract an additional twelve days off with pay to about 700,000 eligible auto workers.

Eligible workers are those with one year seniority and clean work records. To collect for their day off, workers must report on the workday scheduled before and after it. Corporate management expects this to contribute to a disciplined work force and increased productivity.

When the plan is fully developed, an estimated 20,000 workers will be off each day, and union officials contend that the auto companies will have to hire more workers to take up the slack. "We're on the road to the four-day week," says UAW President Douglas Fraser. "The only question is how fast we'll get there."

A plan for government sponsorship of the four-day workweek as a way of spreading jobs is reportedly being considered by Labor Secretary Ray Marshall. It was first suggested by Lillian Poses, adviser to New York Gov. Hugh Carey; it is endorsed by Eleanor Holmes Norton, head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).

The aim of the Poses-Norton plan is to eventually create steady jobs for about 20 percent more workers, beginning with government jobs where cutbacks in recent years have been drastic.

By keeping workers on a four-day week rather than laying off a fifth of the work force, as often happens, each worker would get less weekly pay. But those with low seniority would still have jobs, and everyone would remain eligible for hospital insurance and other fringe benefits.

The loss in weekly wages would be made up in part by unemployment benefits for part-time workers, requiring changes in state laws. Poses argues that this would be cheaper in the long run than present costs of unemployment benefits and welfare payments.

One of the advantages some employers think the Poses-Norton plan may have is that it could cut retraining and recruitment costs and insure a stable work force. Most corporations prefer to retain a smaller work force and pay overtime premiums rather than expand the work force and pay fringe benefits for hospitalization and other normal social rights.

Rep. John Conyers, Democrat from Michigan, is reportedly drafting legislation that will raise overtime pay after forty hours to twice the regular hourly rate. Law now requires time-and-a-half. The Conyers bill would further amend the federal Wage and Hour Law to cut the forty-hour standard to thirty-seven-and-a-half hours in two years and to thirty-five hours in four years.

These job-creating schemes try to meet the needs of employers, not workers. The Conyers bill would serve only to spread the work with a resulting loss in weekly take-home pay for those presently employed. And the enactment of such a bill, as presently conceived, depends entirely upon its acceptance by the employing class and its political representatives.

Neither the employers nor their capitalist politicians have shown to date any serious interest in doing anything about unemployment—except to appropriate public funds to themselves to "study the problem."

No action beyond this is forthcoming in the U.S. Congress, because most employers decided a long time ago that "a tolerable level of unemployment"—something in the range of 5 million to 10 million—is good for profits. It contributes to a docile work force, low wages, and a lower standard of living for the working class. No amount of "study" will change this fixed ruling-class opinion.

The union movement, in alliance with the millions of unemployed and unorganized workers, can solve the unemployment problem.

This is a job for the working class, not the employers and their politicians. It requires independent working-class political action in the form of mass demonstrations, strikes, and all other means necessary for a plan to reduce the hours of work and raise the hourly rate of pay.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



'Nitpicking' rules

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) says it will drop 1,100 "nitpicking" rules. These rules are ridiculous, say OSHA officials; they simply give ammunition to OSHA's critics; and they can't be enforced anyway.

OSHA's announcement is the latest concession to the employers' attack on safety regulations and environmental protection. Workers' safety and clean air and water hurt profits, the bosses tell us.

OSHA has been a target of their attack, which is really an assault on the living standards of all working people. The agency has been portrayed in the media as irrelevant and silly—and top OSHA officials have gone along.

But workers now, perhaps more than ever, need protection from hazardous working conditions. Thousands of workers are killed on the job every year. Thousands more are injured. Perhaps a hundred-thousand working people die every year from diseases picked up on the job.

Hundreds of thousands of workers are exposed every day to toxic and cancer-causing chemicals, most without even knowing it.

Where is OSHA? Back in the library, trying to find "nitpicking" rules that annoy the bosses.

OSHA claims eliminating these rules will give its inspectors more time to deal with the big problems.

But boss, worker, and OSHA inspector alike know that these 1,100 rules have all been ignored anyway.

The fact is that OSHA won't do much to make the workplace safe, because it is an agency of a government that is committed to helping big business stay big—and profitable.

Making the kind of workplace changes that are necessary for safety will cost a lot of money. And that's precisely what the employers don't want to spend.

Eliminating "nitpicking" rules is the old "salami" trick. They slice away and slice away at OSHA, and pretty soon there's nothing left, and you wonder where it all went. They're trying to convince us, a little at a time, that we don't really need a safety and health agency. In fact, top administration officials last summer floated a proposal to eliminate all job safety rules and substitute "economic incentives."

The elimination of 1,100 rules is a complete fraud. Now OSHA will do nothing about "little" problems, and it will continue to do virtually nothing about the big problems as well, despite the fine-sounding rhetoric of its top officials.

A word about some of the "nitpicking" regulations that were dropped. The capitalist papers have made fun of OSHA rules, such as its regulations on the shape of toilet seats.

I found one rule being eliminated that isn't so stupid—if you happen to be a farm worker: "[In a privy] the building shall be of fly-tight construction, doors shall be self-closing. . . ."

It's a small but telling example of how the ranchers deny farm workers even the most basic rights to human dignity. These workers must fight for the most elementary concessions from the ranchers just to make their jobs a little more tolerable. OSHA has just handed those ranchers another weapon.

OSHA's top priority under the Carter administration has been to do *less*, not to aggressively tackle safety and health problems.

Workers need a government agency to write and enforce health and safety rules. It's clear that OSHA, part of the bosses' government, won't do much on this score. What we need is a workers' government, the first priorities of which would be health and safety, not the sympathetic protection of corporate profit.

A Middle East settlement?

Why Sadat's diplomacy

By David Frankel

When Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat returned from his trip to Israel November 21, one overexcited official in Cairo declared: "We can now say that thirty years of hostilities have been eliminated in thirty hours."

Few people would subscribe to such an optimistic evaluation, but it is undeniable that Sadat's trip—his "epic mission," as one prominent reporter called it—raised the hopes of millions around the world that the doorway to peace between the Zionist state and its Arab neighbors had at last been opened.

Unfortunately, Sadat's diplomacy has not brought peace in the Middle East any closer, despite the claims in the capitalist media. To understand why, it is necessary to step back from the day-to-day ducking and weaving of the governments involved in the conflict and to recall the roots of the problem.

An irrational conflict?

Among liberal commentators, it is common for the Arab-Israeli conflict to be explained as the product of irrational hatred. This is the essence of the Zionist argument—that the Arabs refused to tolerate the establishment of the Jewish state because of blind prejudice; that they are fanatics, would-be Hitlers whose aim was to exterminate the Jews.

Sadat himself gave a certain amount of support to this argument when he told the Israeli Knesset (parliament) that 70 percent of the problem was due to "a psychological barrier between us, a barrier of suspicion . . . a barrier of illusions. . . ."

But the fact is that there is a rational and understandable basis for the Middle East conflict. The struggle ceases to be a mystery as soon as one realizes that the Zionist movement aspired to establish a Jewish state in a country already inhabited by another people.

At the end of World War I, 90 percent of the population of Palestine was Arab. This Arab population was confronted with a movement of European settlers that supported British colonial rule throughout the 1920s and 1930s, since an independent Palestine in this period would have put an end to hopes for a Jewish state.

Sir Ronald Storrs, the first civil governor of Jerusalem under the British, expressed in his memoirs the view of an imperial bureaucracy experienced in the tactics of divide-and-rule.

"Enough [Jews] could return," he wrote, "if not to form a Jewish state . . . at least to prove that the enterprise was one which blessed him that gave as well as him that took, by forming for England 'a little loyal Jewish Ulster' in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism."

In addition to confronting the Palestinian Arabs as supporters of British colonialism, the Zionist movement sought to establish domination of the country's economic life at the expense of the majority of the population. In this regard, the Zionists raised three slogans that were central to their movement—"conquest of labor," "the produce of the earth," and "conquest of the land."

Beneath the highflown language, these slogans



SADAT: His 'epic mission' is a cruel hoax



Israel was established by driving the majority of the Palestinian people into exile and expropriating their land.

outlined a policy of hiring only Jewish workers, of boycotting Arab stores and Arab agricultural products, and of buying land from absentee landlords and evicting the Arab peasants who farmed it.

Testimony of a Zionist leader

An example of how these policies were implemented in practice was given in a speech by David Hacohen quoted in the November 15, 1969, issue of the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz*. Hacohen, a member of the Knesset for many years and at that time chairman of its most important committee, defense and foreign affairs, also shed light on the socialist pretensions of many Zionists.

"I remember," he said, "being one of the first of our comrades to go to London after the First World War. . . . When I joined the socialist students—English, Irish, Jewish, Chinese, Indian, African—we found that we were all under English domination or rule. And even here, in these intimate surroundings, I had to fight my friends on the issue of Jewish socialism, to defend the fact that I would not accept Arabs in my trade union, the Histadrut; to defend preaching to housewives that they should not buy at Arab stores; to defend the fact that we stood guard at orchards to prevent Arab workers from getting jobs there. . . . To pour kerosene on Arab tomatoes; to attack Jewish housewives in the markets and smash the Arab eggs they had bought . . . to do all that was not easy."

From the very beginning, the Zionists confronted the Palestinian Arabs as enemies in their own country. As the Zionists put it, their goal was to set up a state that would be "as Jewish as England is English."

Supporters of Zionism describe the resistance of the Arab majority to this colonial enterprise as "anti-Semitic." By using their logic, the resistance of Blacks to minority rule in South Africa could with equal justice be called "antiwhite." It was the reactionary policies of Zionism—not the fact that these policies happened to be carried out by Jews—that provoked the struggle in Palestine.

The Palestinians were willing to live together with the Jewish settlers; they were not willing to have their country taken away from under them. But the Zionists insisted on a Jewish state. As Moshe Dayan explained in a statement quoted in the September 30, 1968, *Jerusalem Post*:

"Every solution—including the establishment of a bi-national state—faced the alternative of either making allowances for the views and desires of the Arabs and putting an end to Zionism, or carrying

on with immigration, land purchase and settlement while denying the right of the Arabs of Palestine to determine the future of the country."

Palestinian demands

The Zionists got their way, and the Palestinian Arabs—two-thirds of the population of the country in 1947—were denied the right to determine its future.

In fact, most of them were denied the right to live there at all. In keeping with their demand for a Jewish state, the Zionists expelled some 700,000 Palestinians in the course of establishing the state of Israel.

Understandably enough, the Palestinians have raised a series of demands that would reverse the effects of Zionist oppression. They want compensation for the land and property that were taken from them, the right to return to their former homes, and the establishment of a single Palestinian state in which Arabs and Jews could live together.

These demands would require the elimination of the Zionist state of Israel, and supporters of Israel, headed by the U.S. government, have tried to portray the Palestinians as irresponsible extremists for raising such an idea.

Nor have the Zionists been alone in this effort. The Stalinist regimes in Moscow and Eastern Europe, which backed the creation of Israel in the first place, continue to support its existence within its pre-1967 borders. Further opposition to the demand for a democratic, secular Palestine comes from almost all of the Arab regimes, which have indicated their willingness to recognize Israel as part of an overall Mideast settlement.

Against such a lineup, and in the context of Sadat's dramatic diplomatic offensive, it is not surprising that the demands of the Palestinians appear utopian to many. But the fact is that the real utopians are those who think the Mideast conflict can be resolved while maintaining the existence of the Zionist state.

The oppression of the Palestinians is not some historical episode that can be shunted aside; it is a continuing, day-to-day reality that defines the nature of Israeli society, and that ultimately determines the relations between Israel and the Arab regimes. And this oppression will continue as long as the state of Israel exists.

Continuing oppression

An analogy might help to better illustrate why the Palestinian struggle is so central to Israeli society, and therefore to the whole Arab-Israeli conflict. Suppose that the American ruling class had taken the land of the American Indians but failed to exterminate them. Imagine a situation in which roughly 100 million Indians inside the United States, and an equal number in exile in Canada and Mexico, were demanding the return of their land. That is the situation that Israel is in.

Moreover, the expropriation of Arab land and the expulsion of the Arab population is not something that happened in 1948 and then ceased. During and after the June 1967 war, 500,000 Palestinians were driven out of the newly occupied territories by the Israelis.

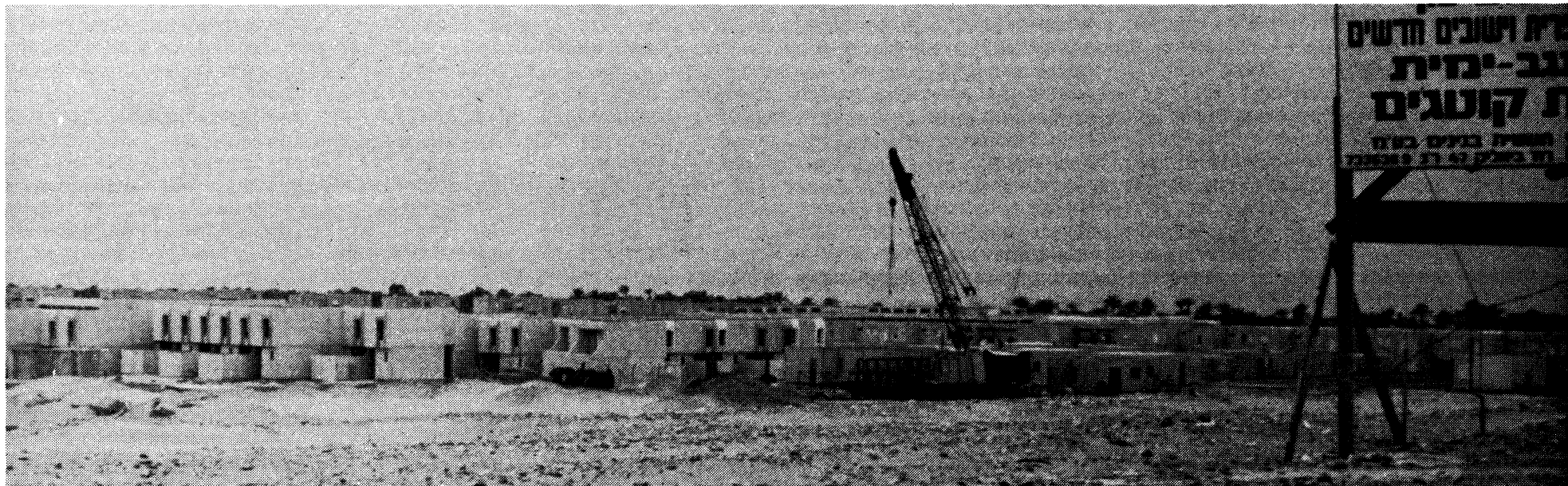
In March 1976 Palestinians inside the pre-1967 borders of Israel staged a general strike to protest continuing expropriation of Arab land. Six Palestinian protesters were murdered by Israeli troops during these "Day of the Land" demonstrations.

An article in the October 17 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* describes the continuing expropriations in the West Bank. In the case of one settlement south of Hebron, it says, "The Yattir settlers are farming 1,000 acres and want to fence off thousands more for grazing sheep."

The article quotes Edward Dribben, an American who moved to Israel in 1964: "Dribben concedes that there will be trouble with the Arabs. 'We are going to hit them where it hurts,' he says. 'By fencing the land, we will deny them grazing land for their sheep and take away their livelihood. Hopefully, they will then leave the area.'"

While the expropriation and expulsion of the Palestinians is the most glaring example of their oppression, it is by no means the only one. All the

won't bring peace



Militant/David Frankel

Yamit, an Israeli city under construction on land occupied during the 1967 war. The Zionist regime may be willing to give back the Sinai in return for a deal with Sadat, but it will not give up the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights.

forms of racist oppression suffered by Blacks in the United States are also suffered by Palestinians.

In 1970, for example, average per capita income of Arabs inside Israel's pre-1967 borders was only 40 percent that of Jews.

In 1973, while 25 percent of Israel's Arab population lived four or more persons in one room, the corresponding figure for the Jewish population was 1.5 percent.

Figures on the ownership of durable goods by Jews and Arabs are equally revealing. In 1970, 38.1 percent of Jews in Israel had telephones, compared to 3.4 percent of Arabs—a ratio of 11 to 1. That same year, 16.7 percent of Jews had private cars compared to 3.1 percent of Arabs—a ratio of 5 to 1.

Discrimination against the Arab population is so thorough going that an Arab town like Um el-Fahem, with a population of about 18,000, is officially classified as a village in order to minimize the amount of public money that it is eligible to receive.

Imperialist outpost

No people on earth could be expected to accept such discrimination in daily life. And experience has shown that the struggle of the Palestinians against Zionist racism cannot be confined within the borders of Israel, no matter what deals the governments involved may make.

This would be true if only because hundreds of thousands of Palestinians with a direct stake in the struggle have been pushed into Jordan and Lebanon. But that is not the only factor ensuring continuing conflict between the state of Israel and the Arab regimes.

Israel has an imperialist economic structure of its own, and this, along with its entire colonial history, has made it into a military outpost for world imperialism in the Middle East.

Each of the three Arab-Israeli wars fought after the establishment of the Zionist state in 1948 were the direct result of Israeli expansionism, and of Israeli attempts to determine the character of the governments in neighboring Arab states.

In 1956, following the cutoff of U.S. aid to Egypt, the decision of the Nasser regime to turn to the Soviet bloc for arms and economic aid, and Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal, the Israeli army invaded Egypt in conjunction with British and French forces.

This clear-cut war of aggression was followed by a second one in June 1967. At the time, the Zionists used the pretext that the Arab states were preparing a war of extermination against Israel's Jewish population.

But the Israeli general staff knew better. Former Chief of Staff Chaim Bar Lev admitted in an April 18, 1972, interview in the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv*, "No, there was no danger of extermination on the eve of the six-day war. We neither thought nor spoke in those terms."

Former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who served as chief of staff during the 1967 war, later said of Nasser: "The two divisions that he sent into Sinai on May 14 would not have been sufficient

to unleash an offensive against Israel. He knew it and we knew it."

However, the Israeli regime, intent on expanding its borders and hoping to provoke the overthrow of the nationalist regimes in Egypt and Syria, unleashed its armies. The October 1973 war, in which the Arab regimes hoped to exert pressure for the return of the territories occupied by Israel in June 1967, was only a continuation of that earlier war.

Since the October 1973 war, diplomats, scholars, newspaper commentators, and politicians around the world have been talking at great length about plans for a negotiated settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. How does this talk square with the actual situation?

To begin with, it is absolutely clear that the Israeli ruling class simply does not want any settlement—at least not at the price of withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, and the West Bank.

The Arab rulers are well aware of this problem. They have been begging Washington for years now to put pressure on the Israelis to withdraw from the occupied territories. All to no avail.

The only pressure that the American capitalists have exerted on the Zionists has been in the realm of public relations exercises designed to reassure the Arab rulers and keep them begging. Meanwhile, the billions of dollars in U.S. arms and economic aid keep right on flowing into Israel.

There is *no prospect whatever* of this aid being cut off, and short of that, illusions about American "pressure" on Israel notwithstanding, there is no reason to suppose that the Israelis would agree to withdraw to the 1967 borders.

Talk by imperialist politicians such as Jimmy Carter about Palestinian "rights," and even a Palestinian "homeland" in the West Bank is even more transparently insincere than the lip-service they pay to the necessity for Israeli withdrawal from the Arab territories seized in 1967.

Carter himself, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance,

and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger have all taken care in the past six months to stress their opposition to any independent Palestinian state in the West Bank. They argue—and they are probably right—that such a state could not be insulated from the struggles of the Palestinians inside Israel and in Lebanon and Jordan.

Behind Sadat's trip

Despite all the talk about a Mideast deal, the fact of the matter is that both the Israeli and U.S. governments are united in a stance that virtually rules out the type of settlement that the Arab regimes have been talking about. *That was the reason behind Sadat's trip to Israel.*

Faced with a situation in which there was no real motion toward an overall settlement, Sadat decided to open up the possibility of a separate deal. Both Sadat and the Carter administration have protested vigorously that they do not want a separate deal between Cairo and Tel Aviv, but that is what they would say even if such a deal had already been concluded.

If Sadat were to go through with his thinly veiled threat of a separate agreement, the result would hardly lead to peace. On the contrary, a deal with Sadat would greatly strengthen Israel's already dominant military position, and encourage the Zionist rulers to engage in adventures in Lebanon and against Syria. In the long run, it would make war more likely.

Furthermore, even if an *overall* settlement could be reached, it would do nothing to end the oppression of the Palestinians. Israel's existence would still be based on the continuation of this oppression, and it would only be a matter of time—and it would not be decades—before the area exploded again.

In the most basic sense, Sadat's trip to Israel was not a step toward peace because it was an attempt to evade the issue around which everything else in the Middle East conflict revolves—the fate of the Palestinian people.

Books on the Mideast conflict

Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?, by Maxime Rodinson; 128 pp., \$1.75.

Israel and the Arab Revolution: Fundamental Principles of Revolutionary Marxism, by Gus Horowitz; 64 pp., \$1.00.

Self-Determination in the Mideast: A Debate From the Pages of the 'Militant' and 'Daily World', by David Frankel and Tom Foley; 30 pp., \$.60.

Roots of the Mideast War: Selections from the 'International Socialist Review'; 46 pp., \$.75.

War in the Middle East: The Socialist View, by David Frankel, Dick Roberts, and Tony Thomas; 31 pp., \$.60.

The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation, by Abram Leon; 170 pp., \$2.95.

How Can the Jews Survive? A Socialist Answer to Zionism, by George Novack; 22 pp., \$.25.

Socialists and the Fight Against Anti-Semitism: An Answer to the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, by Peter Seidman; 31 pp., \$.60.

Order from PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 WEST STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10014.

Reply by Andy Rose

Socialists oppose piece wages for exactly the reasons reader C. H. describes. Piecework is a weapon of the bosses to:

- enforce speedup,
- compel workers to compete against each other,
- lower wages, and
- eliminate jobs.

Karl Marx demonstrated in *Capital* that piecework "has a tendency, while raising the wages of individuals above the average, to lower this average itself."

Because it serves the employers so well in intensifying the exploitation of labor, Marx called piecework "the form of wage most appropriate to the capitalist mode of production."

Let's first take a quick look at the unions' record on this question, then examine the specific problem faced by the Mesabi Iron Range workers.

CIO unions

When the CIO unions were organized in basic industry through the mass labor struggles of the 1930s, one of the first evils they attacked was speedup, particularly any and all forms of piecework. Opposition to piecework or incentive pay was national CIO policy.

A major drive to reintroduce piecework came during World War II from the Communist Party, which was then influential in several big CIO unions. As ardent supporters of the U.S. imperialist war effort, the Stalinists joined with the rest of the labor bureaucracy in supporting the government-imposed wage freeze, opposing strikes, and demanding that workers increase production.

In fact, the CP went further than most union officials dared. Harry Bridges, the West Coast longshore leader who at that time followed the Stalinist line to the hilt, declared in a 1942 speech: "To put it bluntly, I mean your unions today must become instruments of speedup of the working people of America."

To this end, the Communist Party in early 1943 adopted the call for a "wage-incentive plan" throughout industry as an official plank of its program. But the CIO Executive Board rejected a motion to advocate this scheme.

In some unions then controlled by the Stalinists, such as the United Electrical Workers, piecework was reintroduced widely during the war and continues to plague workers in those industries to this day.

Steel

Before the steel industry was organized, the employers traditionally used pay rates based on tonnage produced, or other piecework standards, on various jobs. The top skilled workers in rolling mills, for example, would in effect contract with the boss for a



LLOYD McBRIDE: Supports productivity drive of steel companies.

certain level of production, then take the responsibility for sweating the workers under them to meet this level.

The piecework system was never abolished even after the Steelworkers union was organized, although many local union leaders opposed it. Some incentive setups established during the preunion era persisted for decades. But now, of course, the union negotiated the rates.

The plans varied widely—a few local unions refused to have anything to do with incentives, while at other plants almost every worker was covered.

Then in 1969 an arbitration settlement moved toward standardizing incentives at eleven major steel companies. It provided that not less than 85 percent of the employees of each company would be covered by some type of incentive—"direct," "indirect," or "secondary indirect."

These categories of incentive are supposedly based on the degree to which the job directly and substantially affects company output, with the highest potential incentive earnings attached to those jobs on which the worker (or work crew) can raise production the most.

The real effect of incentive pay is well known to the top officials of the Steelworkers union. It was discussed at length in court hearings last summer when the steel companies were seeking an injunction against local-issue strikes on the iron range and elsewhere.

'Made people work harder'

USWA attorney Michael Gottesman noted that "the union's historic position was way back that it was opposed to incentives as a matter of principle because it made people work harder, holding up the lollipop of money, and as result when the companies first wanted to install incentives they had to get contractual permission to do so. . . ."

Gottesman didn't specify when the union changed its principles. But it is an established fact today that the USWA officialdom supports company efforts to increase productivity—to the point of campaigning in the plants for higher productivity—even though the result has been to eliminate thousands of jobs.

Support to the incentive-pay system is just one part of the union officialdom's class-collaborationist approach. High-paid union bureaucrats see themselves as "partners" in upholding the profit interests of the corporations. This is why they accept responsibility for such company schemes as the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement and the anti-import crusade, trying to palm them off as somehow aiding workers.

Jim Smith, a top aide to USWA President Lloyd McBride and to I.W. Abel before him, was asked in court whether incentives were meant to raise wages.

Smith said no, that "incentive arrangements exist in order that the company may have opportunities for achieving higher levels of employee performance and production. . . . They do not involve any change in the wage level per se, in our view, and as a practical matter they don't."

Smith also argued that incentives give individual employees the opportunity for higher earnings. It's a "trade out," he said.

This is true, of course . . . but the individual opportunity comes at the expense of the entire work force through speedup and loss of jobs. It is the employers who win this "trade out," paying lower total wage costs than they would otherwise have to.

Trap

The effect of incentive pay in steel is seen differently on different jobs and in different plants. Often it appears that workers covered by incentive get extra pay without doing any extra work. Or it may seem that the amount of incentive pay depends more on the

INCENT

A discussion c

The 'Militant' has championed the workers for coverage by incentive socialists and union activists have as a weapon of the bosses to enforce is discussed in an exchange between staff writer Andy Rose. The further discussion from steelworkers

A reader's question

I've enjoyed the *Militant's* coverage of the hard-fought strike by steelworkers on the Mesabi Iron Range, but one aspect of the strike puzzles me.

You often mention that the strikers are demanding to be covered by incentive-pay plans. I'm not familiar with all the details of their situation, but this one demand struck me as strange because of my own experience with the most extreme form of incentive pay—that is, piece wages.

I worked for a time at Walworth, a valve plant outside Boston that is owned by the giant multinational Anaconda-Arco. The work force of about 300 is organized by United Steelworkers of America Local 2391.

A combined-pay system is used at Walworth. The worker gets a set hourly wage for turning out pieces at the "standard" rate for that job. For production over this level there is incentive pay—if you make 25 percent more pieces, you get a corresponding hourly pay raise.

Some workers said they preferred this system, because they felt they could earn more. But the boss is the

one who really gains.

First of all, the pace and quality of labor is controlled by the method of pay. There is less need for supervisors to constantly check up on and push the workers, because the workers know all pieces have to pass inspection for the full rate to be paid, and they feel economic pressure to work as hard as possible.

The more intense the pace becomes, the more easily the boss can jack up the "normal" intensity of labor. The favorite trick is to point to an especially speedy worker (sometimes known to fellow employees as a "piece hog") and say, "If he can do it, all of you should be doing it."

It becomes in the personal interest of the worker to lengthen the working day—working through breaks or lunch, for example, or taking a lot of overtime—rather than shorten it.

Workers can literally work themselves right out of a job—the weekly gain in wages being more than offset by seasonal layoffs. And this doesn't even count the large-scale unemployment caused by one worker doing a job that should be shared by two or three.

At the Walworth plant the employers use the piece wages to justify a lower hourly scale. A skilled, experienced machinist gets only five dollars an hour for producing at the



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the strike by Mesabi Iron Range
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een a steelworker and 'Militant'
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kers and other readers.

standard rate, well below the average pay for the trade.

The company gets away with this because the machinists drive themselves, often working overtime, to earn the seven or eight dollars an hour they should be getting in the first place. Prodded on by inflation and taxes, no worker can afford to relax and just "make the rate."

Piecework has still another insidious effect—eroding solidarity among workers. The "standard rate" set for each job is in practice purely arbitrary. So it may be easier to make incentive pay on one machine than on another. This encourages "bumping," where a worker with more seniority can push someone else out of their job.

Thus the best machines are run by older workers, and the machines it's hardest to make money on tend to be run by the youngest workers, women, or workers from oppressed minorities.

Besides causing a lot of resentment, "bumping" encourages workers to try to solve their economic problems on their own and at the cost of fellow unionists, rather than looking to a united fight against the company.

The final complaint about piecework is the safety factor. Postershorting the employee to work

safely and avoid accidents are pasted up all over the Walworth plant. One even advises: "Sloppy workmanship causes pollution."

Racing to produce pieces on a lathe with five or more exposed cutting tools spinning at hundreds of revolutions per minute, or hurrying against the clock to pour molten metal at temperatures of more than 2,000 degrees, causes many serious accidents at Walworth—from lost fingers, hands, and eyes to extensive third-degree burns.

One worker, glancing at the signs on the walls, commented, "If they want to increase safety, all they have to do is cut out the incentive."

Some of us at Walworth figured we were subjected to this antiworker system because our small local—bargaining individually rather than industry-wide—didn't have the strength to change it. It's hard to imagine why any group of workers would be fighting for incentive pay, with all the physical and psychological destruction that invariably results.

I would appreciate it if you could clarify the attitude of the *Militant* and the iron range strikers about this.

C. H.
Dallas, Texas

company's scheduling of production than on the worker's individual effort.

In other jobs it is much clearer that workers are driven to extra effort in order to make incentive. And in every plant workers can point to tasks that once were done by four workers, for example, but are now done by only two or three.

In addition, incentive always tends to favor the higher-paid and more skilled workers, exacerbating divisions within the work force and undermining union solidarity.

Whether the speedup effect is obvious or disguised, the incentive-pay system is a trap. As the steel corporations escalate their drive for higher productivity and higher profits, they will inevitably seek to tighten this trap, demanding greater production in return for the desperately needed incentive pay.

Local bargaining over incentive rates tends to put the union in the weakest position, forcing relatively small groups of workers to take on the full strength of the corporation.

Why shouldn't the power of the entire international union be mobilized to win a living wage for all steel workers—without the speedup and divisions fostered by incentives?

This McBride never explains.

Iron range

The workers on the Mesabi Iron Range faced a specific problem. They receive the same base wages as workers in the steel mills, without any incentive bonuses. They have therefore seen their wages fall further and further behind.

(The fact that this wage gap has been growing testifies to the fact that wage levels in basic steel have become steadily more dependent on incentive earnings.)

The viewpoint of the iron ore workers is simple and straightforward. They work for the same corporations as the workers in basic steel. They belong to the same union. So they ought to get the same wages.

It seems especially unjust to many iron ore workers that they get no compensation for the vastly increased production of iron ore. New mines and plants opened on the range in the past decade, with the most modern equipment, have made possible extraordinary increases in productivity.

The companies—reaping these gains without paying production bonuses—felt no need to install an incentive system on the range. On the contrary, in this specific situation they have vehemently opposed incentive pay, since its immediate effect would be to increase the wages they pay their employees.

How could the iron ore workers close the wage gap?

They could not legally strike for wage parity with basic steel. They are forbidden to do so by the union's Experimental Negotiating Agreement. ENA provides that no steelworker can strike over wages or any other national contract question. If such questions are not resolved in negotiations they are settled by binding arbitration.

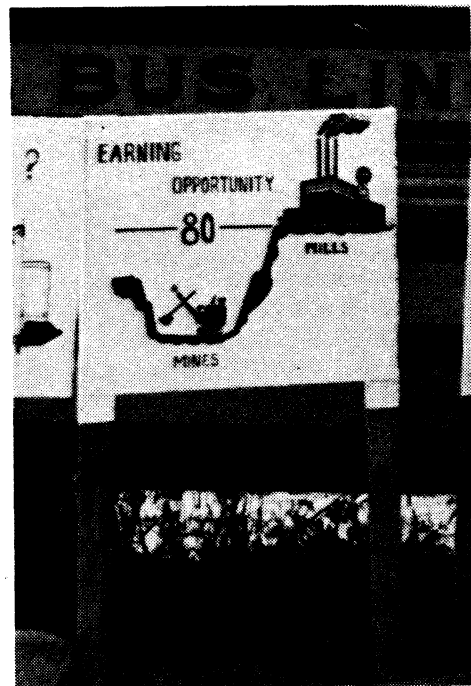
Strikes are allowed only over local issues, according to ENA.

To complete the picture of how the iron ore workers were boxed into a corner, it must be noted that the union ranks have no say in national contract negotiations. Even the contract demands formulated by union conventions and the basic steel industry conference are routinely disregarded by the "top level" bargaining committees. And the union ranks cannot vote for or against the final settlement. The national contract is entirely out of their hands.

Effect of strike

A big majority of the iron ore workers and many of their local leaders oppose the ENA. They want the right to vote on their own contracts and democratically control their union.

They backed Ed Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back slate in last



Militant/Andy Rose
Picket sign in Babbitt, Minnesota, spotlights wage gap between ore mines and steel mills.

February's international union elections in the hopes of progressing toward union democracy. Many intend to continue fighting for these goals, their convictions strengthened by their experience in the present strike.

Under present conditions, however, iron ore workers saw only one way to raise their level of earnings to the level in basic steel: a local-issues strike to win the same incentive-pay coverage.

And so they struck—not only over incentive pay but also to win much-needed improvements in health and safety conditions and to resolve other long-standing problems. The hard-line stand taken by the companies against these demands reflects their fear that the iron ore workers will set an example of winning gains through militant struggle.

The strike on the Mesabi Iron Range has, in fact, posed the biggest challenge yet to the antilabor offensive of the steel corporations. It has also exposed how the ENA and the entire class-collaborationist course of the McBride bureaucracy weaken the union.

And because McBride has responded by accepting a company-inspired "amendment" to the ENA that would virtually outlaw even local-issue strikes, the stage has been set for a renewed fight for union democracy and the right to strike.

The iron range strikers need and deserve the support of every unionist, every person who supports the right of workers to safe conditions and a decent livelihood.

A victory in their struggle will inspire confidence in the power of the union ranks.

It will show how to take on the steel profiteers and defeat them.

And it will help lay the basis for a rank-and-file movement that can transform the entire United Steelworkers union—and sweep away the treacherous piecework incentive-pay system.

Further reading

TEAMSTER REBELLION	\$2.95
TEAMSTER POWER	2.95
TEAMSTER POLITICS	2.95
TEAMSTER BUREAUCRACY	3.95

Four volumes by Farrell Dobbs, a leader of the 1934 Minneapolis strikes and the Teamsters' over-the-road organizing campaign. Dobbs explains how class-struggle methods were creatively applied in the struggles of the 1930s and draws important political lessons for today's union militants.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.



Steel union's longest strike

Why iron range locals are ending walkout

By Stu Singer

EVELETH, Minn., Dec. 13—The longest major strike in the history of the United Steelworkers of America is coming to a close.

As the *Militant* goes to press, iron ore workers remain on strike only at U.S. Steel (including the giant Minntac plant) and Inland Steel.

In the past few days USWA locals have returned to work at Erie Mining Company, Hanna Mining, Butler Taconite, and Eveleth Taconite.

The locals that have returned to work have all gotten similar settlements. All report various concessions by the companies on health and safety issues, such as better control over the lung-destroying taconite dust.

At Eveleth Taconite, for example, Local 6860 Vice-president Gene Skraba told the *Militant* the union won the establishment of a permanent two-person team to repair dust leaks. The company also agreed to engineer a dust-collection system in the fine ore surge building, where Skraba said the dust problem is the worst.

Incentive-pay issue

The union demand for incentive-pay bonuses comparable to those in the steel mills was the best-known issue of the strike, an issue common to all the locals. (For a discussion of incentive pay, see feature on pages 14-15.)

The locals that have gone back have come close to establishing parity with the basic steel industry on incentives. But the agreement is still weak. To a certain extent the terms will have to be fought out plant by plant when it goes into effect two years from now, in November 1979.

The incentive formula that was generally accepted is worded to cover a

minimum of 75 percent of the workers. It includes all workers in maintenance and operations departments, which supposedly make up more than 75 percent of each plant.

But the newest workers in the lowest labor grades, the labor pool and janitors, will not get incentive pay. And new workers hired after the strike will not get the attendance bonus now paid on the range.

The exclusion of the newest workers is the weakest part of the new contracts. The companies insist on this point in an effort to widen the divisions between the better paid, more skilled workers and the younger, unskilled workers.

For a plant such as Minntac—which is projected to increase its work force from 3,400 to 5,000—excluding a quarter of the workers from incentive pay will save U.S. Steel a lot of money.

McBride proposal

On incentive pay there is not a big difference between what the locals have accepted and what USWA President Lloyd McBride secretly negotiated and then presented to iron ore workers in November. But there are a couple of improvements.

First, none of the currently employed workers will suffer pay cuts when the shift is made from the attendance bonus to incentive pay in 1979.

Second, negotiators for most locals think they will be able to get more than 75 percent of the workers covered when the incentive plans actually take effect.

Of course, this remains to be seen.

The fact that the companies were forced to agree to any kind of incentive plan for iron ore workers represents a substantial victory for the local unions on the range. From the beginning of negotiations through more than three months of strike, the steel corporations refused even to discuss the question.

Workers from several different plants report that at the local meetings where the contracts were approved, international staff representatives gave campaign speeches for McBride, claiming he had won the agreement for them.

This kind of talk does not go over

well with workers who survived on thirty-dollar-a-week strike benefits for more than four months while McBride sat on the union's \$100-million strike fund. They believe that whatever they got was won through their own struggle, not McBride's secret deals.

Many realize that the Experimental Negotiating Agreement signed by the USWA brass, which gives up the right to strike over national issues, encouraged the companies to stonewall negotiations in the hopes of having the strike declared "illegal" under ENA.

Pressure on locals

In the opinion of at least one union activist, McBride and his overpaid staff representatives acted as "the assistant personnel directors for the steel corporations," pressuring the locals to accept the settlement.

If there was a turning point in the strike, many activists think it came on November 19, when the international ordered each local to negotiate on its own. The locals were warned that if they continued trying to negotiate jointly, this would undercut the legal argument that they were fighting for

local issues.

The November 26 vote by Eveleth Taconite workers to reject a proposed agreement proved to be an exception. The combination of a forceful talk by Gene Skraba, the only negotiator to oppose the settlement, and the presence outside the meeting of pickets from other locals urging solidarity, convinced the majority to stand fast.

They were convinced to vote in favor of solidarity—both solidarity with the other locals on strike and the solidarity represented by demanding incentive coverage for all the workers instead of excluding the lowest paid.

The reversal of that vote two weeks later, when faced with an only slightly improved offer, was prompted by a belief that the solidarity was broken and that each local should accept the best deal it could get.

Meanwhile the strike goes on at U.S. Steel and Inland. And iron range workers are only beginning to assess the outcome of their struggle and its lessons for other working people. Future issues of the *Militant* will report the conclusions being drawn by activists and leaders in this historic strike.

Striker hails role of militants

The following is reprinted from issue number 3 of the 'District 33 Strike News,' published by the iron ore strikers. This article was written by Raymond Puukila, a member of USWA Local 2705 at Hibbing Taconite.

HIBBING— It has been said that the 1977 Steelworkers' strike was brought about by a few young militants in our ranks. People who were not satisfied with conditions the majority found acceptable. People who sought change where no change was needed.

Militants are people who march to a different drummer. They remember the past, live the present and dream of the future. Throughout history, changes in our world have been brought about by the militants in our ranks.

Looking back at the history of the labor movement, we find that all the real leaders were called rebels, militants and troublemakers. The same was true in many other segments of our society. One of the most recent militants that comes to mind is Martin Luther King, for many years a militant and now a hero.

People who hold positions of power and authority fear change and new ideas. They resist change because it can cause them to lose their control.

I hope that the events of the past four months do not put out the flame that guides the militants in our ranks. They are people with a vision, a dream and purpose. They see life not as it is, but as it could be.

Yes, we need the militants, not only to dream the dreams, but also to turn them into reality.

American Labor Struggles 1877-1934

By Samuel Yellen

416 pp., \$3.95.
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

'Our spirit can't be broken,' says union activist

MINNEAPOLIS—"We're in a struggle for our lives," iron range striker Ed Walberg told a well-attended news conference here December 9.

Walberg and Donald LaVigne, two union activists from U.S. Steel's Minntac plant in Mountain Iron, Minnesota, spent a week in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area, building support for the strike and for a statewide solidarity rally scheduled for December 17 in Hibbing.

"Buses and car caravans will be coming to Hibbing on December 17 from across the State in a show of union strength," Walberg told television, radio, and newspaper reporters at the news conference.

"For those union locals still out on December 17, this rally will be a support rally—a show of union solidarity.

"For those union locals that have settled, this will be a tremendous victory rally.

"The steel trust has to understand that the spirit and determination of the iron rangiers can't be broken.

"December 17 is an appropriate time to have a rally. Christmas is coming, we've been out for 131 days, and there is a desperate need for funds, food, and most of all, a show of strength by the people of this state—workers, students,

anyone who will come to our aid.

"I'm a rank-and-file steelworker," Walberg said. "I've got a wife and two kids. It's a hell of a time to be on strike.

But we've sacrificed for four months and we're going to see it through.

"This fight is everyone's fight. It's a strike where the company is trying to

break the union. That's why this rally at noon on December 17 in Hibbing is so important."

Also speaking at the news conference in solidarity with the strikers were Bruce Courneya, president of United Steelworkers Local 7263 at North Star Steel; David Ross, president of USWA Local 2195 at Thermo-King; and Pete Ingram, president of USWA Local 8043 at Advance Circuits, Inc.

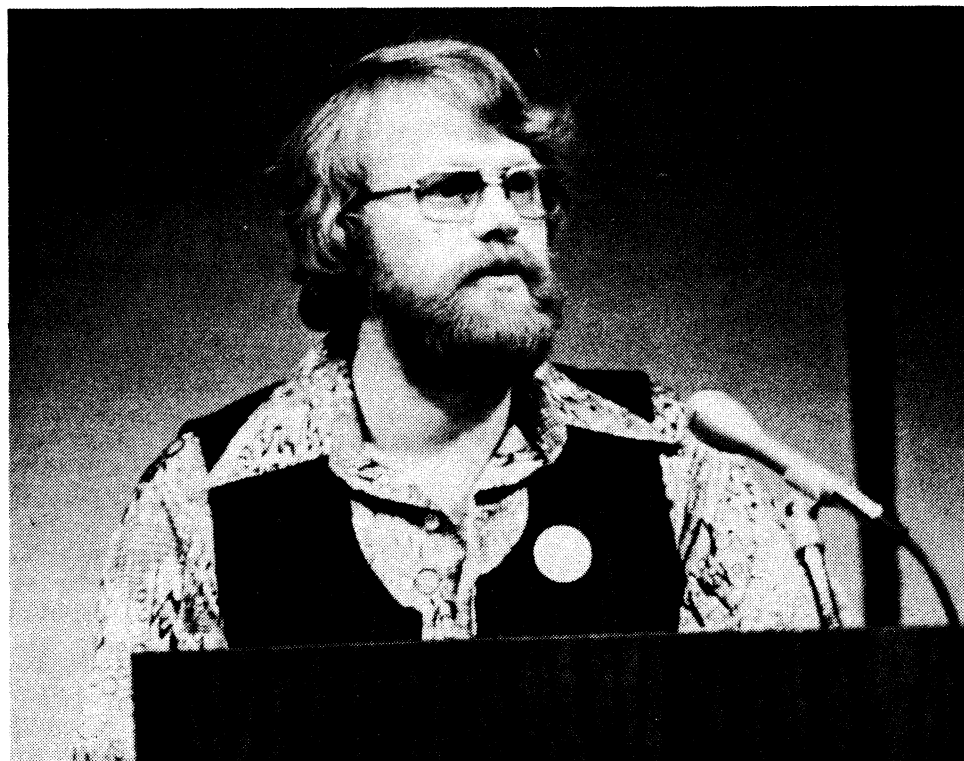
Dick Wilke, student body president at the University of Minnesota, urged students to attend the rally.

Walberg and LaVigne's visit to the Twin Cities was a model of how to organize strike support.

They addressed union membership meetings and executive boards, spoke at a campus meeting December 6, held interviews, and got out thousands of leaflets for distribution in workplaces throughout the area.

The steelworkers addressed the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers, which voted to send teachers free on buses to the Hibbing rally.

A local of the Communications Workers of America spontaneously passed the hat after hearing a talk by Walberg and raised more than \$200 for the strikers.



ED WALBERG: 'This fight is everyone's fight.'

Militant/Mike Moser

Chapter calls for unity

Pa. media report attacks on socialists in NOW

By Terry Hardy

PHILADELPHIA—The former president of the Philadelphia chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and seven other executive board members recently decided to make public their October resignations from the women's group.

Stories on the resignations have so far appeared in the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* and the *Philadelphia Daily News*. United Press International distributed a news dispatch on the situation.

The December 2 *Evening Bulletin* also reported that NOW offices have been closed and that the former officers plan to form a new NOW chapter.

The eight NOW officers justified their walkout and application for a new charter by attacking the ideas of socialists who participate in the group. "They charged that the Socialist Workers Party was attempting to take over the feminist group and chart a more radical course," reported the *Bulletin*.

"At almost every meeting there were hideously long debates over mass action," explains former executive vice-president Kay Whitlock in the *Bulletin*. "SWP never wanted to get involved in traditional politics like lobbying. They said it was selling out to the system."

Former president Nada Chandler told the *Daily News* that "last August the SWP faction wanted to stage a mass demonstration in favor of the Equal Rights Amendment instead of just collecting signatures in favor of it."

Marjorie McCann, who quit as newsletter chair, said, "We found ourselves spending five-sixths of a meeting on political debate instead of feminism."

On December 5, Philadelphia NOW's interim steering committee, elected by the chapter after the October resignations, released a statement to the press. In it, acting chairperson Karen Knudsen says:

"We invite Nada Chandler, Kay Whitlock and others who left this fall to drop their quarrel and rejoin us. Whatever the reason for their disaffection, we urge them to put the unity of the movement ahead of petty disagreements."

"NOW has always brought together women and men from many walks of life, varying opinions, and a wide range of ages. We are not troubled by differences in political orientation. We are united in feminism."

Background to resignations

The resignations came shortly after the membership rejected a timetable for adopting new bylaws proposed by the executive board. The new rules would have given the board power to



Militant/Diane Wang
Red-baiting can only weaken women's movement, which gained greater credibility as result of National Women's Year conference (shown above).

remove from membership any officer or member if her actions "are contrary to the purpose of NOW, injurious to the Chapter and/or contrary to the politics of the Chapter." The proposed bylaws would also have reduced the number of officers from thirteen to five.

Those who walked out of the chapter explained what they intended with the proposed bylaws in an interview with the *Bulletin*. "One key element of the proposed bylaws would have blocked any outside organization from gaining control of the group, according to Miss Whitlock."

Whitlock goes on to explain that the "roots of the conflict began about 1½ years ago when Socialist Workers Party members began to move into the chapter in ever increasing numbers."

But the majority of the chapter wouldn't go along with the "outside organization" scare.

Whitlock herself admits in the interview that SWP members in Philadelphia NOW never "numbered more than a dozen" out of a total membership of several hundred.

The roots of the disagreement began some time ago.

The barrage of attacks on women's rights over the past year—in the area of abortion rights, affirmative action, the Equal Rights Amendment, and others—sparked a discussion among feminists as to how the women's movement should respond.

Prior to the April 1977 national conference of NOW in Detroit, a discussion began in the Philadelphia chapter that led to a resolution calling on NOW to launch an action campaign in defense of women's rights.

The proposal's initial signers were Claire Fraenzl and Rhonda Rutherford, both members of the SWP. Fraenzl is the chapter's vice-president for liaison, the only officer who did not leave the organization in the October walkout.

The proposal was widely discussed in NOW chapters across the country. By the time of the national conference, more than eighty NOW leaders and activists had endorsed it.

But the Detroit conference, the proponents of an action perspective—regardless of their political affiliation—were branded "SWPers" by national leaders of NOW who disagreed with their views. Since then, charges of SWP "infiltration" have surfaced in several NOW chapters around the country. The red-baiting charges have been used as a smoke screen when differences arise over proposals for activities.

Weakens and divides

The majority of NOW members, however, have rejected such attempts to block discussion. They disagree that socialists or any other women should be discriminated against because of their political views. NOW women see that such red-baiting can only weaken and divide NOW.

Moreover, an action perspective is shared by many more NOW members than just those belonging to the SWP. And with the intensified government attacks on women, increasing numbers are convinced that NOW must adopt a more aggressive strategy.

Several NOW chapters began organizing visible protests against abortion restrictions following the Supreme Court's ruling last June. Many more chapters organized pro-ERA actions August 26, involving more Black and working-class women.

This strategy certainly is viewed as legitimate discussion for chapter meetings by NOW members interested in building the feminist movement.

"The resignations of the officers is a divisive move that will give aid and comfort to enemies of ERA, abortion rights and the liberation of women,"

acting chapter president Knudsen's statement explains.

The statement ends by announcing the appointment of a three-member committee by the NOW National Board at its December 3 meeting in San Francisco to "investigate" the situation.

Elections for new chapter officers are scheduled for December 19.

National Women's Conference

"We have just returned from the National Women's Conference in Houston where the women's movement united around the issues," Fraenzl told the *Militant*. "Our movement gained greater credibility and the struggle for women's rights was projected as legitimate for millions of women in America," she said.

"NOW was visible to women as the feminist organization to join. But the news media is now using this dispute within Philadelphia NOW to portray our movement as divided."

"Every woman who wants to fight for equality for women must know she is welcomed in NOW," Fraenzl continued. "As a NOW member she must feel free to express her opinion in NOW without fear of being labeled a socialist or anything else."

"The democratic right to have a different opinion or to express disagreement with any proposal will only make our organization stronger. Political debate helps us to arrive at decisions we all agree are the most effective and together we can unite to carry those activities out."

"I wholeheartedly agree with our acting chairperson, Karen Knudsen, in urging the eight former officers to rejoin the chapter and work toward building the women's movement."



Militant/Susan Ellis
CLARE FRAENZL: "Every woman who wants to fight for equality must know she is welcomed in NOW."

Antinuclear protests set

Three important anti-nuclear power actions have been called for next spring.

The Palmetto Alliance, an anti-nuke group based in South Carolina, will sponsor a protest at the Barnwell, South Carolina, nuclear fuel reprocessing plant April 30.

Although Barnwell is not yet operating, it could be started up at any time.

The plant is designed to take spent fuel assemblies from nuclear reactors and separate the various radioactive elements in the assemblies. Plutonium will be used in new assemblies or in nuclear weapons. Other elements will have to be stored, some for thousands of years.

The same day will see a protest at

the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Facility sixteen miles from Denver.

Rocky Flats manufactures plutonium "triggers" for atomic bombs. The plant is a source of wide plutonium contamination.

The protest is sponsored by the Rocky Flats Action Group, based in Denver and Boulder.

The Clamshell Alliance, a New England-based anti-nuclear power organization, will hold a protest at the construction site of the Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear power plant next June 24.

All three actions have also been endorsed by the national convention of the Mobilization for Survival, a national organization opposed to nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

NYC socialists hold Puerto Rican weekend

By Jane Roland

NEW YORK—The strategy for Puerto Rican liberation was the theme of an educational weekend held here December 9-10.

A featured speaker was Juan Robles of the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (Internationalist Workers League), the Trotskyist group in Puerto Rico.

Also speaking was Catarino Garza, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and the new head of circulation for *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language biweekly magazine.

Perspectiva Mundial, the *Militant*, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the

SWP jointly cosponsored the weekend.

Robles's talk, "Puerto Rico: the Struggle Against Colonialism," explained the colonial status of the island and the struggle for independence. Garza discussed the problems of Puerto Ricans in the U.S., both as an oppressed national minority and as workers.

Workshops on Puerto Ricans in education, feminism, and Puerto Rican nationalism were also held. Participants—including some who came from Washington, D.C., Boston, and Newark—purchased eighty-five dollars worth of Pathfinder Press literature and a number of subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

By José G. Pérez
and Olga Rodríguez

Leaders of CASA, a Los Angeles-based sectarian organization, have launched a campaign to discredit the National Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy held in San Antonio October 28-30.

That conference brought together 1,500 activists representing the broadest array of Chicano and Latino political forces united around a single issue since the height of the anti-Vietnam War movement.

The conference decided to oppose President Carter's proposed crackdown on immigrants. It unanimously voted for immediate, unconditional amnesty and full civil and human rights for all undocumented people.

The conference also approved an action resolution calling for local protests November 18-20 to demand a stop to all deportations.

The CASA leadership opposed the action proposal at the conference, although they support the demands around which the actions were called. Instead of explaining their political objections to the November 18-20 protests, CASA and some allies disrupted the plenary session with endless procedural wrangling to prevent the conference from reaching decisions.

When this failed, they launched a barrage of red-baiting in a futile attempt to defeat the action resolution. After a majority voted for the action resolution, CASA walked out.

Following the conference, CASA leaders in Los Angeles went on a campaign over radio stations and newspapers to publicize their version of what happened at the conference.

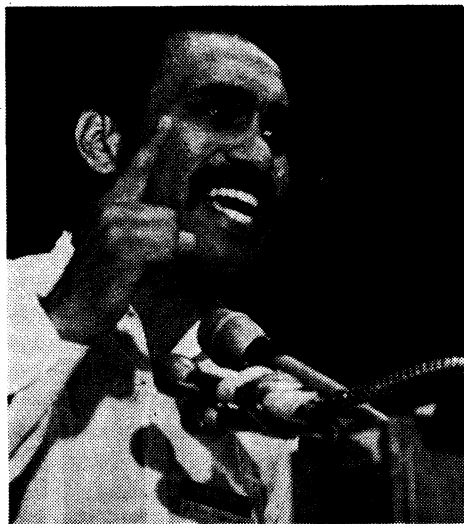
Then a lengthy presentation of CASA's complaints against the conference appeared in an article by CASA General Secretary Antonio Rodríguez in the November *Sin Fronteras* (*Without Borders*), CASA's newspaper. It was printed in both English and Spanish under the headline: "The National Immigration Conference: Unity and Opportunism."

'Struggle against Trotskyism'

The article is a bitter denunciation of the Socialist Workers Party and the bulk of conference supporters. They are condemned for refusing to make the San Antonio conference a staging area for a holy war against the SWP because it follows the ideas of Russian revolutionist Leon Trotsky.

Insulting the intelligence of Latino activists, Rodríguez bemoans "the political immaturity of the Mexican people's organizations that permits our manipulation and division by a 'pseudo' leftist 'party' formed by opportunist and leftist elements produced by North American middle sectors." He also denounces "those who sought neutrality in the struggle against trotskyism."

Rodríguez prints many defamatory accusations against the SWP. Some had already been aired publicly by Herman Baca, chairperson of the San Diego Committee on Chicano Rights, and by *La Prensa San Diego* long before the conference. They charged, for example, that the SWP "fraudu-



ANTONIO RODRIGUEZ: General secretary of CASA denounces 'those who sought neutrality in the struggle against Trotskyism.'

How to forge unity in the fight against racist deportations

A reply to CASA on nat'l Chicano conference



Militant/Harry Ring

October 28-30 antideportation conference brought together 1,500 activists. CASA leader argues that main issue should have been denunciation of Socialist Workers Party, instead of united struggle against 'la migra.'

lently" listed as sponsors of the conference groups and individuals that never agreed to sponsor the effort. Like Baca and *La Prensa*, Rodríguez offers no evidence to prove his contentions, exposing them as factionally motivated fabrications.

CASA's general secretary, however, goes much further than Baca and *La Prensa*: he accuses the Socialist Workers Party of being a front for the government.

"Why the sudden preoccupation of the SWP for the struggle against the INS," Rodríguez writes, "at the same time that the government of the U.S. puts the KKK at the border? What imperialist interests does their intent of confusing and deviating the struggle of our people in these critical times serve?"

These charges are in the worst traditions of Stalinist slander. Rodríguez leaves no doubt that this vendetta against Trotskyism is a major reason for his sectarianism. He devotes an entire section of his article, in fact, to attacking the program and record of the Trotskyist movement for the past fifty years. We will return to his falsifications of Trotskyism in a future article.

First, however, it is necessary to take up what Rodríguez's article shows about CASA's participation in the San Antonio conference. He confirms this had as its central axis a factional war against the SWP, not defending the rights of undocumented workers.

CASA's options

Rodríguez writes: "The activists and Mexican organizations building for the conference were confronted with three options: 1) Boycott the conference in protest of the Trotskyite presence . . . 2) get to the conference and denounce immediately the presence and significance of trotskyism . . . 3) arrive at the conference and denounce the trotskyite maneuvers the moment that these acts created the conditions."

"This [third] option, much like the second option permitted their infectious participation in the conference; the constant denunciation since the initiation of preparation for the conference . . . would have neutralized their participation."

"CASA, erroneously opted for the third option, considering the potential political importance of the conference for the struggle of the Mexican people and naively believing the fourth option [i.e., "constant denunciation since the initiation"] would cause destruction of the conference. We dedicated ourselves to the internal struggle within the Texas committee and in the national preparatory meeting . . ."

Two things should be noted.

First, Rodríguez's accounting of CASA's choice of options isn't accurate. They began with option four—red-baiting and opposing the conference. They did this as part of a southern California committee that was threatening to hold a counterconference.

CASA switched to option three only after the Carter plan was formally announced. Support for the conference then mushroomed, and under this pressure CASA said they were going to San Antonio and urged their allies to attend.

Second, nowhere in the article does Rodríguez mention an obvious fifth option: putting aside his differences with the SWP on other questions and creating the greatest possible unity around defense of our undocumented brothers and sisters, an issue on which CASA, the SWP, and many other forces have agreement.

At first sight, the whole dispute might appear simply as a fight between Stalinists and Trotskyists of little concern to activists not directly involved in the dispute.

But in fact, what is at stake are two counterposed strategies for organizing the fight for the rights of undocumented immigrants.

The San Antonio conference pointed the way to a strategy of coalition-building. It relied on diverse groupings coalesced around a single objective all could agree on—educational and protest activities in defense of the undocumented.

An essential part of this concept is that participants from all the different groups and ideologies put aside their differences on other issues in order to unite on the immigration question. Each group remains free, of course, to continue to express their views on

other issues through their publications, forums, and so on.

The structure of such a coalition is necessarily loose and democratic, because its task is to facilitate the participation of the widest possible spectrum of groups and unaffiliated activists.

An important part of this coalition-building concept is the strategy for winning our demands. We can't rely on the government to simply grant them out of good will, because it is the government that is carrying on the racist drive against immigrants.

We can't rely on politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties, because these two parties are controlled by the rich, who profit tremendously from the superexploitation of immigrants.

Instead, we have to rely on our own communities, other oppressed groups such as Blacks and women, the labor movement, students, and working people as a whole. Unlike the capitalists, it is not in the interests of working people to support deportations. We have to patiently explain to the vast majority of people in this country that the new immigrants are not their enemies, that denial of rights to the immigrants is a threat to their own rights, that the rock-bottom wages immigrants are forced to accept depress the wage levels of everyone.

How we can win

At this time, those who defend the rights of immigrants are a small minority among working people. Our side of the story has been drowned out by the capitalists' hysterical propaganda against "illegals."

So we have to turn that around, reaching out to mass-based groups and prominent individuals. That includes the more moderate organizations such as the League of United Latin American Citizens, American GI Forum, and the churches. And it includes organized labor, whose power is needed if we are to win.

Many people look to those established forces for leadership. If we are to win the majority of people to our side, we won't do it by ignoring or going around the organizations or leaders that millions of people identify with.

To forge unity among diverse groups, what's needed is a clear, pre-

cise agreement. The San Antonio conference won support from the most varied array of Chicano and Latino groups imaginable precisely because there were two, and only two, essential points of agreement: One, defense of the rights of immigrants against the Carter plan, and two, support for the holding of a conference to discuss the issue.

CASA proposes a different form of organization. In an editorial in the June 1976 *Sin Fronteras*, their sectarian approach is outlined in this way:

"Unity of action presupposes clarity on the differences which exist as well as the things held in common. . . ."

In the July 1976 *Sin Fronteras* General Secretary Rodríguez further explains, "Such a [united] front would provide us with the indispensable forum to discuss our ideological positions and political line for the struggle for liberation. We would . . . carry on the ideological struggle [that] will ultimately result in the acknowledgement of the correct political line."

But this is not a united front. It is a sectarian formula that excludes from the start the possibility of the broadest unity in action.

The whole point of a coalition is to build a bridge between different groups by forging unity around specific demands and actions. Priests and Marxists can protest together against deportations without first debating historical materialism versus Catholicism.

In his recent article, Rodríguez raises many of his differences with the SWP, going all the way back to the debate over "socialism in one country" in the Soviet Communist Party fifty years ago. The issues he raises are important and must be discussed. But a coalition against deportations is not the place to discuss them. What needs to be discussed in such a coalition is the immigration issue and what's to be done about it. Period.

In its work, CASA has occasionally tried to organize protests, conferences, and other activities in defense of the undocumented along sectarian lines. Since its present leadership was first elected, CASA has not initiated any activity that remotely approached the breadth or political impact of the San Antonio conference.

Why? Because of CASA's approach of keeping tight-fisted control over activities it initiates instead of seeking to involve the broadest possible range of groups and activists on an equal footing.

Lobbying strategy?

CASA also seems to favor a different strategy for fighting for our demands. In the December 2 *Militant*, we presented evidence that CASA has adopted lobbying as its major weapon in fighting the Carter plan.

There is, of course, no problem with people involved in lobbying also being involved in a coalition mainly focused around educational and protest activities.

But when lobbying is projected as the exclusive strategy, it results in relying on convincing government officials with logical arguments. The SWP considers this a hopeless endeavor, since capitalists politicians make decisions on the basis of the needs of the bosses modified only by pressure of social struggles.

The experience of the civil rights and antiwar movements shows the way to win victories is to bring to bear the pressure of masses or working and oppressed people, who have the necessary social power to force the government to grant concessions.

Unity around demands

At the San Antonio conference there was broad agreement on four demands:

- Down with the Carter plan;
- Stop deportations;
- Full, immediate, unconditional amnesty for all undocumented immigrants;

- Full human and civil rights for undocumented workers.

But this unity is of limited value if it remains abstract, if we allow sectarian attitudes to stand in the way of our taking action together.

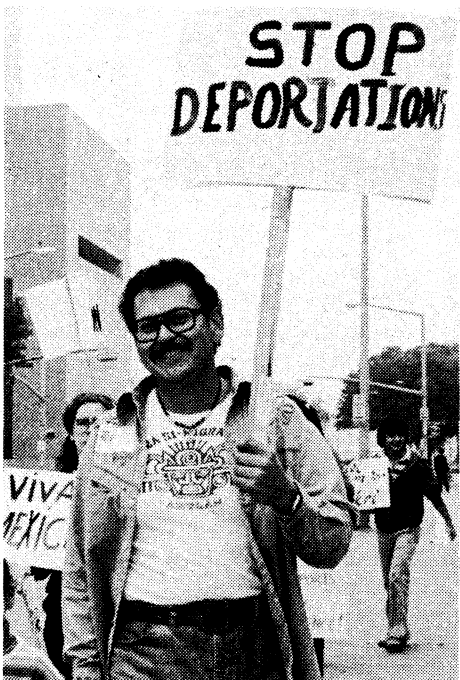
What to do next and how to do it—those were the questions facing the conference once the agreement on demands became obvious.

To avoid discussing these issues, CASA and its allies launched a vicious red-baiting attack, demanding the SWP be thrown out. The witch-hunt hysteria reached such a fever pitch that several threats of violence were made against SWP leader Pedro Camejo.

In his article, Rodríguez claims CASA doesn't red-bait. "Only the blind can ignore the ascending ideological trend amongst our people is socialism."

This is pure sophistry. Red-baiting is precisely what's involved here. Rodríguez's charges of "trotskyite maneuvers" and SWP "manipulation" are designed to play on anticommunist fears and prejudices. They are aimed at diverting attention from the real political issues an dividing the anti-deportation movement. This can only play into the hands of the government.

To the extent Rodríguez makes concrete charges, his statements are demonstrably false. For example, he told the Los Angeles newspaper *La Nación* that the SWP rented 100 twenty-one-dollar-a-day rooms at the Tropicano Hotel where the conference was held. This outlandish fabrication is meant to insinuate that well-heeled mysterious forces bankrolled the "trotskyite maneuvers." Anyone can prove the charge is false simply by calling the



Militant/Diane Wang
JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ: Raza Unida leader who initiated conference is a special target of CASA's attacks.

hotel.

Why does Rodríguez lie? Because he is not trying to clarify political or organizational differences, but to avoid a discussion of real issues by slinging mud.

After SWP, who is next?

But the SWP is not Rodríguez's only target. He also takes special aim at Texas Raza Unida Party leader José Angel Gutiérrez.

Last May, Gutiérrez issued the "Call for Action" that initiated organizing for the San Antonio conference. Rodríguez charges Gutiérrez "sponsored" the SWP. His real crime—in Rodríguez's eyes—is that he defended a policy of nonexclusion.

CASA's advocacy of throwing out the SWP raises the question: is Gutiérrez, who "sponsored" people who "serve" "imperialist interests" next in line? Rodríguez doesn't say, but there can be little doubt on this point.

Much more than Gutiérrez as an individual is involved, however. He is a leader viewed as a symbol of the Texas RUP. Are all members of that party also to be excluded?

Continued on page 26

South Korean master bribery plan disclosed

By Steve Wattenmaker
From Intercontinental Press

Washington's sluggish Korean bribery probe got a major jolt November 29 with the publication of a previously unknown Korean Central Intelligence Agency master plan for conducting clandestine operations inside the United States.

The detailed, twenty-four-page document described the KCIA's elaborate schemes to pay off influential persons in government, academic, and religious circles, and the news media.

Among its various aspects the program called for infiltrating the Pentagon, hiring "paid collaborators" in top congressional offices, and establishing "an intelligence network in the White House." Plans to silence Korean-American opponents living in the United States were also outlined.

The document came to light during two days of public hearings on the KCIA before the House International Organizations Subcommittee. Sohn Ho Young, a former KCIA agent who testified at the hearings, confirmed the authenticity of the document. He explained it was drafted in late 1975 to guide the agency's U.S. operations for 1976.

About \$750,000 was earmarked for the effort with even more set aside for bribing members of Congress, according to subcommittee chairman Rep. Donald Fraser.

While the new revelation provides dramatic confirmation of many charges already leveled against the KCIA, the document proves that Korean influence-buying operations went far beyond the widely reported escapades of South Korean agent Tongsun Park.

The plan envisioned \$100-a-month payoffs to at least fourteen employees of the White House, Pentagon, State Department, and CIA. The document identified those to be contacted, but names were deleted in the version made public by the subcommittee.

Also named were two reporters for the *New York Times* and one from ABC News who were slated to receive all-expense-paid visits to Korea.

The plan allotted \$11,000 to "invite influential journalists to visit Korea and convert them." It also called for a "search among the reporters of influential papers (WP, CSM)" in order to "co-opt and utilize" them. The papers referred to by initials are the *Washington Post* and the *Christian Science Monitor*.

In Congress, the KCIA budgeted \$500 a month to pay each of three collaborators in the "office of the Speaker (Senate and House)." The KCIA document also noted that an

agent had already made contact with 44 members of Congress. It stated "collaborators already secured: 40" and "newly created friendly relationships: 32."

Suzi Park Thomson, a longtime personal aide to now-retired House Speaker Carl Albert, has already been the focus of various investigations because of her alleged ties to the KCIA. Albert himself has been subpoenaed to testify about the bribe scandal before a closed session of the House Ethics Committee, according to a December 1 report in the *New York Daily News*.

Within the Pentagon, the plan said, the KCIA would "concentratedly infiltrate the Military Assistance Division under the Assistant Secretary for International Security." Also to be penetrated was the office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to "collect U.S. Far Eastern military strategy."

Even the KCIA's sister intelligence services were not exempt from being targeted. Plans were outlined for ten U.S. CIA officials to visit Seoul where they presumably would be won over to the Park regime's requests for continuing aid.

An FBI agent who apparently was assigned to keep tabs on South Korean dissidents living in the United States was to be showered with \$50 gifts to "supply information on the movements of [deleted] a Korean resister who should receive special attention."

The document went on to suggest that Korean agents should support scholars considered friendly to the Seoul regime while trying to "convert" hostile professors with free trips and grants.

In the religious field, the KCIA's ambitious undertaking called for agents to "manipulate" an Episcopal priest and "strengthen utilization" of a friendly Baptist minister. It also budgeted \$1,200 for "utilization of Jewish lobbyists."

The immediate reaction of Justice Department and congressional investigators looking into the bribery scandal was to play down the significance of the revelations. Officials "expressed caution yesterday over the significance of the KCIA operations plan," the November 30 *Washington Post* reported.

"The names of targeted officials were viewed as promising leads, but there is no evidence of how much of the plan was carried out."

In fact, the KCIA document represents a major breakthrough in the case. What dismayed government officials is fear that following up the leads in the KCIA plan may provide the spark that finally blows Washington's latest scandal sky high.



Court admits injustice, denies job

The 7-year fight of Prof. Morris Starsky

By Diane Wang

Morris Starsky, a philosophy professor and socialist, will not be returning to teach at Arizona State University. He has fought to get back his job there since 1970, when ASU fired him because of his political activities.

In the course of Starsky's seven-year battle, he won national support for his right to teach. He brought to light dirty tricks done against him by the FBI, the CIA, and the army. Two courts ruled that ASU violated his civil liberties and should rehire him.

But last month a federal district judge upheld a decision by an Arizona "special master" that a sabbatical given Starsky in 1970 was settlement of all the professor's claims for his job and damages from ASU.

"ASU lost the case when the courts ruled it had attacked Starsky's democratic rights," explained the professor's attorney, Margaret Winter. "So the university resorted to giving him a sabbatical, hoping to find a way out by finessing a phony settlement."

"But their success in winning this contract issue does not wipe ASU's slate clean. The earlier court decisions that Starsky had a right to engage in political activity still stand," she said.

Who is Morris Starsky, that the ASU regents and government spy agencies went after him?

Starsky began teaching at ASU in 1964. He was a popular professor and organized three national philosophy conferences at ASU.

A U.S. District Court judge concluded Starsky was "an acknowledged and respected teacher and scholar, and a man with national visibility."

A report by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) noted that his "performance as a teacher, his promise as a scholar . . . as assessed by his peers, were distinctly above the average of his colleagues at Arizona State University."

A right-wing Arizona legislator, on the other hand, loathed Starsky as a "communist menace." And the CIA put Starsky on a list of anti-Vietnam war activists "believed to be ideologically [sic] hard core types."

Predicting trouble

What the spy agencies, reactionaries, and board of regents objected to was Starsky's political activity.

In 1965 Starsky helped organize Arizona's first demonstration against the Vietnam War. When free speech became a campus issue Starsky sided with the students' right to circulate literature and hear invited speakers. He joined with students backing local Black and Chicano laundry workers who went on strike in 1968.

During the 1968 presidential elections Starsky at first supported Democrat Eugene McCarthy. But then he decided the Socialist Workers Party candidates made more sense. He agreed to be an elector for the SWP on the Arizona ballot.



MORRIS STARKSKY
Minnesota Daily/Phil Hernandez

ONE LESS SANCTUARY



TWO VIEWS OF CASE: 'Phoenix Gazette' cheered when Starsky was fired (left), but years later sinister FBI plot against Starsky came to light.

1968 also happened to be the year that the local FBI office began "predicting" that ASU would fire Starsky.

"MORRIS J. STARKSKY, as a public employee, is understood to be of interest and concern to [blank space]," said a July 1, 1968, FBI memo. "There are now indications that as a result of this interest, which is by no means a matter of public record and is unlikely to become such, the Board of Regents . . . may soon find cause to separate Professor STARKSKY from the public payroll. . . ."

"In any event, Phoenix [FBI] will explore means of assuring that [blank space] is cognizant of the role which STARKSKY and others in the ASU Philosophy Department play in keeping the New Left alive [blank space]."

It took the ASU Board of Regents two years to make good the FBI prediction.

In January 1970 Starsky was asked to speak at a rally in defense of eight students at the University of Arizona in Tucson. The students had been arrested for an earlier protest against their school's ties with the racist, whites-only athletic policy of Brigham Young University. Starsky notified his department head and canceled a class to go speak.

Debate erupts

The next day a debate erupted in the state legislature. One representative declared Starsky had "gone too far" this time. Legislators threatened to cut ASU's funds unless Starsky was fired.

ASU's president appointed a faculty committee to review Starsky's case. It concluded that there were not grounds for dismissing him. But the board of regents decided to fire him anyway.

The regents trumpeted charges against Starsky ranging from disre-



ASU defense campaign
State Press/Scott Adams

UNDERCOVER WORK



Herblock/The Washington Post

pect to, ironically, failure "to promote conditions of free inquiry and to further public understanding of academic freedom."

Radios, TV stations, and newspapers aired their views in a series of editorials, most of them anti-Starsky.

Thousands rallied to the professor's side. More than 250 faculty members and 3,000 students signed petitions on his behalf.

National support came from prominent academicians such as Noam Chomsky. Later, the 85,000-member AAUP took Starsky's side and put ASU on a probation list because of the incident.

Thomas Ford Hout, one of Starsky's colleagues at ASU, wrote a book about the case with an introduction by Aryeh Neier of the American Civil Liberties Union. It's called *The March to the Right: A Case Study in Political Repression*.

The political police, of course, did not keep quiet during this debate. The FBI's role came to light several years later when the SWP lawsuit against government harassment forced the FBI to disgorge secret Cointelpro (Counterintelligence Program) files.

While the faculty committee at ASU was considering Starsky's case, the FBI wrote a poison-pen letter accusing Starsky of threatening to beat up a student. The anonymous letter was signed, "A concerned ASU alumnus."

Starsky's name also appears in a "Daily Intelligence Summary" published by the army. And although the CIA charter prohibits that agency from spying on American citizens inside U.S. borders, the CIA also kept tabs on Starsky.

The ASU considered some dirty work of its own. One memo in ASU files discussed setting up a pseudo-student

newspaper to attack the professor. "Discreditation of Starsky must be subtly handled," said the memo, "and must appear to come from within the ranks of the young people he reaches."

Court rules

By the time a U.S. District Court judge ruled on the case in 1972 the issues were quite clear. Federal Judge Carl Muecke decided: "This Court must conclude that the primary reason for the discipline of Professor Starsky is grounded in his exercise of his First Amendment rights in expressing unpopular views. . . . Termination violates his right to free speech. . . . Defendants have a duty to reinstate plaintiff to his position. . . ."

But the court referred the issue of the sabbatical and contract technicalities back to a lower court. That is the issue that was recently decided.

'Arizona treatment'

Starsky's enemies did not give up when he left Phoenix. In 1971 Starsky taught for a year at San Diego State University. But his contract was not renewed. The local San Diego Union urged the school to "consider him a prime candidate for the Arizona treatment."

A contract to teach at Dominguez Hills in California the following year was abruptly canceled on the grounds that Starsky did not say he had been fired from ASU. But, ironically, ASU insisted Starsky had *not* been fired.

Today Starsky teaches a philosophy course at Cleveland State University.

Is he satisfied with the outcome of his fight? "I'm disappointed not to get my job back, of course," Starsky answers. "But I am proud of what we did accomplish in establishing the right of professors to be politically active. We did win that victory for academic freedom."

'One regret'

By Morris Starsky

Some people have asked me whether, after all that has happened, I have any regrets. So I look at why I did what I did and see how it worked out.

I became a socialist because I wanted to deal effectively with the cause of social problems such as war, racism, sexism, and economic crisis. I became a socialist because of a gut hatred of the capitalist system that causes those problems.

Nothing in the past nine years since I became a socialist has made me change my mind. Joining the Socialist Workers Party was the best way to turn my concern into political, effective action.

Consider the anti-Vietnam War movement for example. I participated in the mobilization of millions of Americans in huge, peaceful demonstrations against the war. That movement helped the Vietnamese people; it was a big step forward for humanity.

And my case won important rulings bolstering democratic rights. Even if I can't teach at ASU, we won a victory.

Losing my job didn't make me regret my choices. After all, millions are out of work in this country simply because the capitalists don't find it profitable to provide jobs. I lost my job because I was fighting for genuine job security—that is, for a society that makes human needs its first priority.

Regrets? I only wish I had become a socialist when I was younger.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist

Alliance have sued the FBI and other agencies because of what they did to Morris Starsky and others like him. The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support for the landmark lawsuit.

Will you help us? Send your contribution to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.



'Great admiration'

Communist Party USA hails Ethiopian junta

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

The Ethiopian dictatorship is now facing massive opposition to its rule throughout the country. The oppressed nationalities—the Eritreans, Somalis, Oromos, and others—have mobilized to fight against the dominant Amhara rulers based in the capital, Addis Ababa. In addition, the military junta, known as the Dergue, is confronted with continuing resistance to its repressive and antilabor policies from the urban masses of Addis Ababa itself.

Despite its growing isolation within the country, the regime of Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam has managed to garner a broad spectrum of foreign supporters, ranging from American imperialism and the Israeli colonial-settler state to Moscow and the Eastern European regimes.

As a by-product of the Soviet Stalinists' backing to the Ethiopian junta, the American Communist Party, which follows every twist and turn in the Kremlin's self-serving foreign and domestic policies, has jumped onto the bandwagon as well.

Pilgrimage to Addis Ababa

The CP sent its national education director, James Jackson, to represent it at the third anniversary festivities of the Ethiopian junta's September 12, 1974, seizure of power. According to the September 22 issue of the American CP newspaper, the *Daily World*, Jackson met with Mengistu and presented him with greetings from the party's central committee and personal felicitations from National Chairman Henry Winston and General Secretary Gus Hall.

It went on to note, "Jackson was accorded the special privilege of addressing the nation on television and over the radio. The media reported his talks at Dire Dawa and at Debre Zeit with keen interest."

The government-controlled *Ethiopian Herald*, in its September 11 issue, devoted a number of paragraphs to Jackson's remarks upon his arrival in Addis Ababa, running a photograph of him along with the article. It quoted him as saying, "Our party looks with enthusiasm and great admiration to the Ethiopian Revolution."

The CP had proclaimed its political backing for the Ethiopian junta a month earlier as well, when the August 12 *Daily World* published an article by veteran CP propagandist William Pomeroy, who referred to "the revolutionary government of Ethiopia with its declared socialist program."

Radical demagoguery

In reality, however, there is nothing "socialist" about the Dergue other than its demagoguery. In claiming that there is, the CP is helping to provide a left cover for an extremely repressive capitalist regime. In this, it is simply following the counterrevolutionary lead set by Moscow, which, in addition

to its political support, provides arms and other material assistance to the junta.

The only evidence that the American Stalinists seek to offer in justification for their hymns to the "revolutionary government" is the Dergue's land-reform measures and its nationalization of a number of foreign and domestic companies and banks. But in all their enthusiasm for the "Ethiopian Revolution," neither Jackson nor the *Daily World* have a word to say about the capitalist economic policies of the junta.

Nor do they mention the Dergue's ban on strikes and demonstrations, its efforts to enforce speedup in the factories, its arrests of trade-union activists, its dissolution of the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions, its executions of political dissidents, or its massacre of hundreds of young supporters of the underground Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) earlier this year.

The *Daily World* does at least acknowledge the existence of the Maoist-leaning Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), but refers to the party in its October 6 issue as "counter-revolutionary terrorist," thus presumably justifying the cold-blooded killings of its supporters.

The political and material aid given to the Ethiopian junta by a number of capitalist and imperialist powers is embarrassing to the CP, so that, too, is ignored.

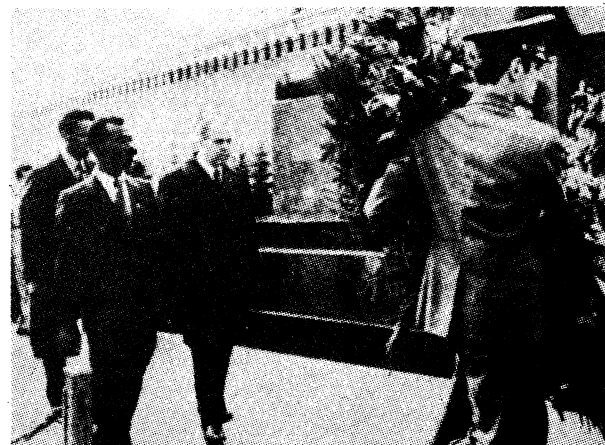
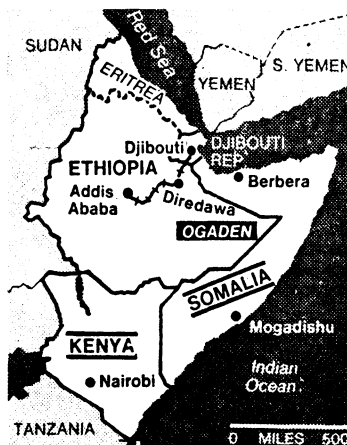
For instance, Washington, which armed, trained, and funded the Ethiopian military for more than two decades, still has ties with the Dergue, despite the reduction in American military aid earlier this year. There are at least seven Defense Department officials stationed in Ethiopia, and Washington recently agreed to provide \$200,000 in economic assistance and is considering \$10 million more.

According to numerous reports, the Israeli regime (which opposes the Eritrean and Somali struggles) supplies spare parts for the Dergue's American-made F-5 jet fighters and has helped train some Ethiopian military units. The *New York Times* reported August 1, "The United States is aware of the Israeli involvement and has not opposed it. . . ."

Contempt for oppressed

In their speeches and articles, the American Stalinists have expressed particular contempt and hatred for the struggles of Ethiopia's oppressed nationalities. Jackson is quoted approvingly by the *Ethiopian Herald* as condemning them for raising "a phoney flag of self-determination."

In a lame attempt to justify this position, the CP claims that the Eritreans and Somalis are simple pawns of imperialism. In the words of Pomeroy, "Imperialism, in other words, has fanned extreme nationalist and separatist feeling [among Somalis], which it has also done in the case of the Eritrean movements, in order to create



TOP: Eritrean liberation fighters; BOTTOM RIGHT: Ethiopian strongman Mengistu visits Moscow; BOTTOM LEFT: Map shows Eritrea and Ogaden, centers of nationalist struggles.

and foster conflict in the Horn of Africa."

In light of the gains made by both the Eritreans and Somalis in recent months, it is quite likely that the imperialists, including Washington, are trying to establish some influence with them. But their aim is not to encourage struggles for national liberation. It was Washington, in fact, that originally railroaded a resolution through the United Nations in 1950 incorporating the former Italian colony of Eritrea into Ethiopia.

Rather, what the imperialists are trying to do is to bolster their influence in the region so as to be in a better position to sidetrack or contain the Eritrean and Somali struggles and to prevent them from going in a socialist direction.

Mengistu and his Stalinist praise-singers would like to cover over the fact that the Ethiopian state, as it now exists, was established through a process of conquest. The Somalis, Oromos, and a number of other nationalities were forcibly subjugated in the last decades of the nineteenth century during the expansion of the feudal Amharic empire. Their lands were expropriated by the conquerors and their national rights were suppressed.

The Somali territories were, in addition, partitioned between the Ethiopians and various European powers, so that today some Somalis live in Somalia, some in Ethiopia, some in Kenya, and some in Djibouti.

During the 1950s, the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie, with American backing, gained control of Eritrea, crushed the Eritrean labor movement, and sought to suppress the various languages spoken by Eritreans.

In response to this oppression, the Eritreans have waged a long and determined struggle for their national independence. The Somali people have also rebelled against Ethiopian domination. A prominent focus of this struggle is for the unification of all Somalis within one independent state.

In this situation, the CP cares only about the war that has developed between the bourgeois Ethiopian and Somalian governments, ignoring the struggle of the oppressed nationalities inside Ethiopia's borders. Since the

Kremlin is today more closely aligned in world diplomacy with the Ethiopian regime, the CP backs it in this war.

The shortsightedness of this policy is shown by the fact that only months ago the Somalian regime, not the Ethiopian, was much more closely aligned with the Kremlin bureaucracy. In fact, it received high praise as a "progressive" government in the *Daily World*.

Looking at these developments from this narrow viewpoint, the CP heaps vilification and slander on the Eritrean and Somali nationalist struggles. Jackson, for instance, terms the Somali guerrillas, who are backed by the Somalian regime, as "invading aggressors." He calls Eritrea, which had a separate existence for many centuries before it was incorporated in the 1950s, "an integral part of Ethiopia."

Ironical

This latter position is ironical, since Moscow has not always considered Eritrea part of Ethiopia. In fact, during the period after the Second World War when the Italian CP was in the government, the Kremlin favored the return of Eritrea to the Italian colonialists!

The CP's position on the national question in Ethiopia is partly a reflection of the Kremlin's hostility to struggles for national self-determination in general. After all, the Soviet bureaucrats are themselves vociferous proponents of Great Russian chauvinism and oppose any struggles for national rights among Ukrainians, Crimean Tatars, Armenians, Jews, and other oppressed peoples in the Soviet Union.

The American CP's support to the Ethiopian junta and its condemnation of the various struggles against it is also an index of how much Moscow fears any change in the status quo that could disrupt its class-collaborationist relations with Washington.

Both Moscow and its American apologists, through their backing to the Dergue, bear a direct responsibility for its repressive, chauvinist, and antilabor policies. In their position on the Horn of Africa, they have once again shown their willingness to betray any real struggles by the masses for social change.

Military wants 'discipline' Crackdown hits Nigerian unions

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

Like its predecessors, the Nigerian military junta headed by Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo has promised to gradually end direct control of the government by the armed forces and return Nigeria to some form of civilian rule, tentatively by 1979.

At the same time, however, it is stepping up police measures, particularly against workers and students, in an effort to contain growing political and industrial ferment.

In September, Federal Commissioner for Labour Maj. Gen. Henry Adefope revealed that the economy had lost 600,000 working days through strikes in the two years up to July 1977. Out of a total of 883 reported trade-union disputes, 453 had resulted in strikes. This new round of labor unrest followed a massive strike wave in the first half of 1975 that wrested significant concessions from both the government and private employers.

Several weeks after General Adefope issued his report, oil workers at the Shell-British Petroleum installations at Forcados walked off their jobs to press demands for higher wages and improved service conditions.

The strike disrupted the pumping of crude oil from the oil terminal, in which the Nigerian government owns a 60 percent share, resulting in the loss of 800,000 barrels of oil a day, nearly a third of Nigeria's entire oil production. Oil, moreover, accounts for 93 percent of Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings and 84 percent of its total exports.

In an effort to break the strike, army and police units were sent into the area, ostensibly to guard the installations from "sabotage" and to prevent the strike from spreading to oil workers in nearby Rivers State.

Unions banned

The Shell-BP and Allied Workers Union of Nigeria and the Senior Staff Association of Shell-BP were banned by the military regime, on the grounds that "the strike action called by the two bodies was calculated not only to disrupt and obstruct the smooth running of Shell-BP's operations but also disrupt the economy of the nation." Leaders of the banned unions were

arrested, as were three television journalists who had covered the strike.

A representative of the workers was quoted in the government-owned *Nigerian Observer* as stating that the strike would continue until the disputed issues had been resolved. "Our struggle is for economic and social freedom," he said.

One factor fueling industrial unrest in Nigeria has been the junta's policy of freezing wages. Although wage increases of up to 7 percent were approved for some workers in June, the raises could not even begin to catch up with the 35 percent inflation rate.

The Nigerian working class has a long tradition of militancy and trade-union activism, despite numerous government restrictions. Of a labor force of about 3 million wage-earners, 1 million are organized in unions. But to limit the right of workers to organize freely and to bring them under tighter government control, the junta has instituted a series of new antilabor measures during the past two years.

Guided democracy

In December 1975, General Adefope announced that the regime had decided to pursue a "policy of guided democracy in labour matters" that would "involve limited government intervention in certain areas of labour activity to ensure industrial peace, progress, and harmony."

Less than two weeks later the junta drove its point home. On the eve of a trade-union congress in which the four main labor federations were planning to merge into one body, police arrested many delegates. Adefope declared that a tribunal would be set up to investigate the trade-union movement, because it had "become the haven for ill-informed and ill-motivated persons masquerading as trade-union leaders."

As a justification for this attack on the working class, the regime charged that a number of union leaders had been guilty of "corruption."

In February 1977, eleven top trade unionists were banned from further union activities. One of them was Michael Imoudu, president of the National Union of Railway Workers of Nigeria, who was a veteran of the anticolonial struggle against British

rule, a prominent labor leader since the 1940s, and a key figure in the general strikes of 1945 and 1964.

In addition, a "code of conduct" has been issued that prohibits union officials from engaging in political activities or supporting political causes.

The Trade Disputes (Essential Services) Decree of 1976, moreover, bans virtually all strikes in what the regime describes as "essential services," that is, all government departments at both the federal and state levels, broadcasting and other communications, hospitals, ports, transportation, airports, and all services that supply electricity, water, or fuel. Union leaders violating the law can be imprisoned for up to five years.

The regime, however, has been confronted with some resistance to its new trade-union scheme. At their inaugural meetings, several of the new industrial unions defied the junta's guidelines and chose their own general secretaries. The Radio, Television, and Theatre Workers Union declared, "Secretaries cannot be imposed on us."

New repressive measures are also being enacted against students. The regime has announced that in some states troops will be sent into post-primary schools "to maintain discipline." The junta has also proposed the reintroduction of whipping in schools, and to make his point General Obasanjo personally whipped a student during a visit to a secondary school in Sokoto, supposedly because he was "shabbily dressed."

These moves are aimed at quelling the almost continual ferment among Nigerian students, who have staged frequent demonstrations, strikes, and other protests over the past few years. This unrest erupted most forcefully in April and May 1976, when a series of demonstrations and strikes over local issues swept several universities and colleges around the country.

E.A. Ayandele, the vice-chancellor of the University of Calabar, has complained about the growing rejection of established authority by young people in general, stating that "they have bad manners, they have contempt for adults, they show disrespect for the elders, and have become tyrants over



GENERAL OLUSEGUN OBASANJO

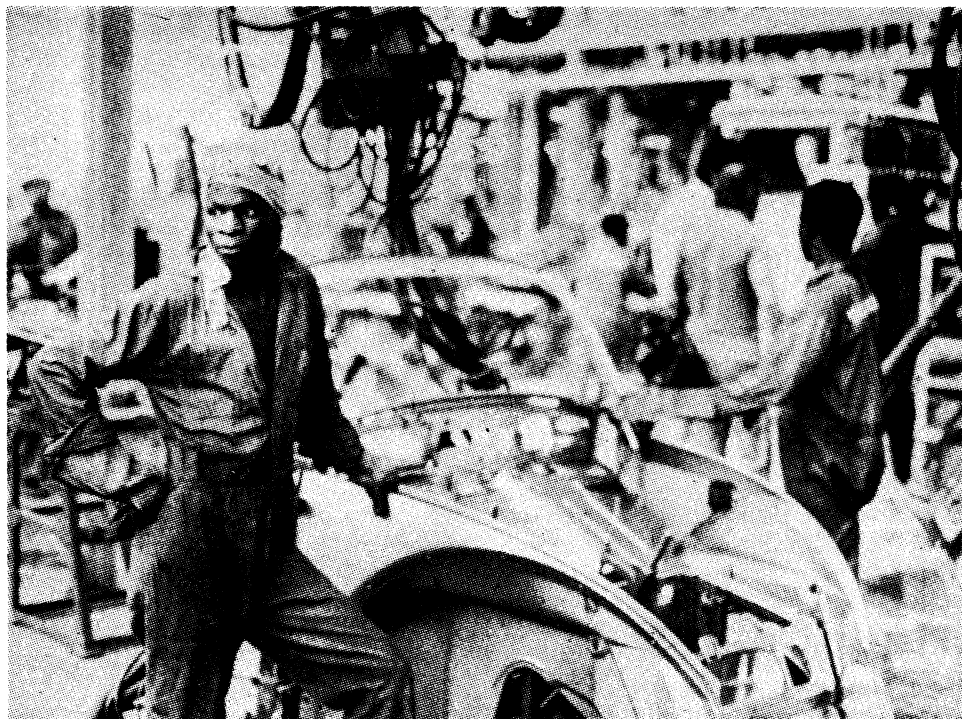
their parents and teachers."

Some military figures have drawn apocalyptic conclusions from this. According to a summary of his remarks in the October 31 issue of the London weekly *West Africa*, Wing Commander Ikpeke, the governor of Ondo State, warned during a public ceremony that the "growing decadence in Nigeria was such that if nothing was done about it, everybody might be swept away by the imminent deluge. . . ."

One reflection of the mood among Nigerian youth has been the tremendous popularity of Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, Nigeria's best-known musician. He is also one of the country's most prominent dissidents and his songs are sharply critical of the military regime, as well as of imperialist economic domination. His performances have frequently drawn clenched-fist salutes from audiences.

On February 18 of this year, however, about 1,000 troops attacked Fela's home in the Surulere slum area of Lagos, burned it, and beat him and scores of others, resulting in the hospitalization of about sixty persons in all. Fela, who had been arrested six times before, was again detained. Although he was later released, he has been barred from giving any further performances.

In the July 24 *New York Times Magazine*, correspondent John Darn-ton described some of the conditions in Nigeria that have helped produce the unrest. "The people are deserting the land and flooding into the cities," he said, "unemployment and inflation are running rampant, agricultural produc-



Regime wants to cripple workers' right to organize for better living standards . . .



. . . while under 1 percent of Nigeria's people hold 75 percent of its wealth.

tion is declining and the infrastructure—telephones, lights and water supply—is crumbling. . . .”

Inequality at root

Darnton continued, “At the root of Nigeria’s malady is the simple fact that so far the [economic] development has not bettered the existence of most of its people: One-half of 1 percent of the population controls 75 percent of the wealth.”

Nigeria’s military rulers now apparently realize that repression, by itself, is insufficient to maintain control indefinitely over a country of between 70 and 80 million, which has enormous economic problems and which has been marked in the past by civil war, coups, assassinations, and massive strikes. The junta’s promise to restore civilian rule by 1979 is no doubt designed to defuse the unrest, channel grievances in a parliamentary direction, and head off the emergence of any major challenge to authoritarian rule.

As the recent repressive measures signify, however, the junta does not intend to allow, in Obasanjo’s words, the development of “indiscipline, lawlessness and disorder.” Obasanjo has made it clear that the transition period to a civilian regime will be closely regulated.

In October 1976, a Constitution Drafting Committee appointed by the junta published a draft constitution for the proposed civilian regime. It specifically rejected provisions for the safeguarding of freedom of the press and expression and provided that the regime would be headed by an executive president with sweeping powers. Furthermore, as Ndele Jinadu, a professor at the University of Lagos, pointed out, “The Draft Constitution as it is now is heavily weighed in favour of the propertied and entrepreneurial class. . . .”

In early 1977, elections were held to establish local government councils. A majority of the councils, however, were not directly elected. These councils then formed an electoral college from which the majority of members of a Constituent Assembly were chosen August 31. Of the 203 members of the assembly, 20 were nominated by the military regime, and the 49 chairmen of the junta’s Constitution Drafting Committee subcommittees were given automatic seats. This Constituent Assembly is entrusted with the task of debating and approving the draft constitution.

General still in saddle

Chief Rotimi Williams, the chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee, conceded that even after the constitution is approved, the military regime could “by decree supersede or purport to supersede or modify the constitution as enacted by the Assembly.”

The debate over the constitution, both within the assembly and through the press and public meetings, has been greatly constrained by the continued ban on all political parties. The junta has promised to lift the ban in time for the projected elections, but only after the constitution has been approved. Even then, there will still be restrictions on parties, including those that may seek to represent the interests of one or another of Nigeria’s various nationalities.

Fearing that the moves toward a civilian regime could get out of hand, the junta warned November 18 against any unauthorized revival of political activities. An official statement stressed that the ban on politics would be lifted only after the conditions for the establishment of parties had been published, warning that anyone who

violated the ban would be dealt with severely.

“It has been observed,” the statement said, “that some people have been organizing political meetings in the country under the guise of social associations and solidarity unions, under which they engage in political activities.”

In other words, the return to civilian rule—if it actually takes place—will be marked by a form of “guided democracy,” under which a powerful and centralized administration will govern the country with the aid of some “democratic” trappings. Moreover, the military itself would continue to exercise considerable influence from the wings.

‘Self control’

In a speech at the opening of an armed forces college in Jaji, Obasanjo outlined the junta’s current thinking. According to the November issue of the London monthly *New African Development*, he declared that Nigerian society was now “not sufficiently disciplined.” He went on to explain, “To me discipline is restraint and self-control in individuals for the good and happiness of all. It is the axial principle on which my idea of society rests.”



M.A.O. IMOUDU: Rail workers leader banned from union activity.

Laying out the guidelines for behavior expected from the Nigerian masses, he said, “A politically disciplined society knows its political obligations and these obligations and duties are rendered without government invoking sanctions.” The implicit threat, of course, is that without such “discipline,” the military would again step in directly to maintain “order.”

Stressing the need for austerity as part of the regime’s economic plans, he said, “As a nation we must moderate our consumption, make sacrifices and save resources for investment.” The new restrictions on the trade-union movement may thus be aimed at preparing the way for an even greater assault against the living standards of the working class.

Obasanjo’s call to Nigerians to “make sacrifices” apparently does not apply to the armed forces themselves. In the 1977-78 budget, half of all expenditures are allocated for the military and police forces.

Signaling its approval of Obasanjo’s “human rights” policy, the Carter administration is now seeking to further bolster his arsenal. According to the October 31 *West Africa*, the Defense Department has announced that it plans to sell seven Boeing Ch-47C military transport helicopters and support equipment to the Nigerian junta. Valued at an estimated \$45.5 million, the sale would amount to more than twice the total American military sales to Nigeria since 1950.

World news notes

Romanian regime tells workers to sacrifice

Despite increased signs of rebelliousness among Romanian workers, including massive strikes by coal miners last August, Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu called for eight more years of austerity and sacrifice by the working class and farmers December 7.

Speaking at a congress of the Romanian Communist Party, Ceausescu called for continued emphasis on industrialization but ignored demands for more consumer goods, better housing, and improved working conditions and retirement benefits. Ceausescu also promised a tightening of censorship and stricter internal controls.

Neutron bombs in Europe?

Will the Carter administration send its newly developed neutron bombs to NATO forces in Europe? The nuclear device, which kills people while preserving property, turned out to be a hot potato at the recent meeting of NATO defense ministers in Brussels.

Most European defense ministers have favored the neutron bomb since the United States first started briefing them more than two years ago on its efforts to develop this weapon,” a dispatch in the December 7 *New York Times* noted. “But the adverse publicity the bomb has recently received is making the decision to deploy it in Europe politically difficult.”

The Carter administration is trying to get its NATO allies to take responsibility for the deployment of the weapon in order to take some of the political heat off of “Mr. Human Rights.” As *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Takashi Oka explained December 8:

“West German Defense Minister Georg Leber insists that the U.S. must first decide whether or not to produce the weapon, while Washington ripostes that it is pointless to produce a weapon if European NATO allies oppose its deployment.”

Meanwhile, former Nixon aide Gen. Alexander Haig, now the supreme allied commander in Europe, is having difficulty understanding the whole disagreement. He told Oka that it was “ludicrous” that there should be “such great emotional complaints” about the neutron bomb.

Spanish regime bans protests in Andalusia

On December 6 the Spanish government declared that since it already favors some form of autonomy for Andalusia, demonstrations for autonomy were no longer necessary. All such protests not organized by political parties represented in Parliament were banned.

The regime’s decision followed three days of protests, and the killing of a nineteen-year-old demonstrator by police in Málaga December 4.

Italian women demand abortion rights

About 5,000 women marched in Rome December 10 to demand the right of legal abortion. It is estimated that 1 million Italian women have abortions each year. They risk up to five years in jail under the reactionary law inherited from Mussolini’s fascist regime. This law is supported by the Catholic church hierarchy and the ruling Christian Democratic Party.

Step forward for Québec Trotskyists

The convention of the Québec Socialist Workers Group (GSTQ), held in Montreal October 6-10, marked an important step forward for that Trotskyist group. Decisions of the convention revealed a process of political convergence between the GSTQ and the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (RWL), the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

At its convention, the GSTQ adopted the slogan “For a free republic of Québec,” thus recognizing the importance of the struggle for self-determination in Québec and placing itself on the side of those fighting for independence. The RWL hailed this decision, although it noted the importance of making the link between the struggle for national liberation and the struggle of the working class for socialism explicit.

Another step in the GSTQ’s positive evolution was its decision to participate in the fight for free abortion on demand.

Many differences between the RWL and the GSTQ remain. However, a growing field for common action has opened up, and the RWL has urged that the possibility of fusion between the two groups be explored.

Muslims massacred in Philippines

Reports of massacres of civilians in the southern Philippines, where government troops are fighting Muslim guerrillas of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), have recently reappeared.

In early October, according to an October 28 *New Asia News* dispatch, “More than three hundred Muslim women and children, mostly relatives of MNLF men, were rounded up and massacred in Jolo island. . . .”

On October 12, MNLF leader Hatimil Hassan charged that government troops had massacred another 400 Muslim civilians in retaliation for the death of the commander of the Philippine First Division in an ambush.

The MNLF demands regional autonomy for the areas of Mindanao, Basilan, Jolo, and other islands inhabited by the country’s 4 million Muslims. According to a report in the October 28 *Le Monde* by Philippe Pons, who visited Mindanao, the MNLF’s military forces now number about 20,000 troops.

One index of the level of fighting was the government’s loss of 140 soldiers in a period of three weeks.

Pinochet acts against ‘indiscipline’

Seven leaders of unions in Chile’s copper, port, construction, and metal industries have been ordered into exile in remote mountain villages by military dictator Augusto Pinochet. “When they bring me labor indiscipline, there my patience ends,” Pinochet shouted during a televised meeting with progovernment union leaders November 29.

The Pinochet regime has reacted to demands by independent unions for reduced unemployment,—officially at 12 percent—and for the restoration of union rights, by denouncing the union leaders for “creating problems.”

One year of 'In These Times'

Socialist veneer wearing thin



By Fred Feldman

In These Times, a weekly newspaper proclaiming adherence to socialism, recently celebrated its first year of publication. The first issue was dated November 15, 1976.

Publication of the paper is the latest stop in the political itinerary of a group of radicals around James Weinstein, the editor of *ITT*.

Operating for years on the fringes of the "new" left, Weinstein was a founder of the New American Movement and later published the magazine *Socialist Revolution*.

A recent issue of *ITT* reported that the paper has a circulation of 11,000. Thirty-two chapters of *In These Times* Associates, headed by Rep. John Conyers and author Studs Terkel, have been formed, the editorial asserted. Sponsors of the weekly include Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Dorothy Healey, and Staughton Lynd.

Weinstein's circle has no roots in the working-class movement. But the policies followed by *ITT* indicate that its staff now hopes to remedy this by aligning itself with the more liberal wing of the top labor officialdom. This wing is represented by Douglas Fraser of the United Auto Workers, William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists, and Jerry Wurf of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Rightward trajectory

Weinstein and the other editors of *ITT* have never been close to revolutionary socialist views, rejecting these as "sectarian" and "irrelevant." From this starting point, the policies advocated by *ITT* have followed a consistent rightward trajectory. This is reflected in shifts from relatively

progressive stands that were taken in early issues.

ITT supported the Steelworkers Fight Back slate headed by Ed Sadlowski, which challenged the bureaucratic tops of the United Steel Workers union last February.

After Sadlowski lost the vote, however, *ITT* labor reporter Dan Marschall wrote in the March 9 issue that Sadlowski had gone too far in advocating a return to militant trade unionism. "It's all but impossible for labor to return to the fighting days of the 1930s," opined Marschall.

Of the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which hamstring steelworkers in resisting employer attacks, Marschall went so far as to say, "The ENA has stabilized the steel industry to the extent that negotiators can realistically discuss union demands for lifetime job security. While the specific provisions of this arrangement are not yet defined, it could signal a significant breakthrough...."

ITT has carried numerous articles on affirmative action, generally supporting such programs. An editorial in the September 28 issue marked a departure from this stance.

While criticizing the *Bakke* decision, the editors denounced quotas—without which affirmative-action programs would be reduced to little more than statements of "good" intentions.

ITT news coverage initially criticized the deportation of undocumented workers. The November 16, 1977, issue signaled a reversal of this position. An article by Delfino Varela proposed a program as stringent—more so in some respects—as the Carter anti-immigrant plan.

On many issues, such as abortion rights, the Equal Rights Amendment,

and the fight against nuclear power plants, *ITT*'s columns continue to express support. Even in these cases, however, the newspaper avoids proposing a strategy of mass action that would bring the victims of capitalism into struggle independent of capitalist rulers and politicians.

Commitment to Democrats

ITT claims in an October 26 editorial to be dedicated to "American democracy as the only desirable road to a just society." Behind this abstract patriotic declamation lies *ITT*'s commitment to reforming American society through the Democratic Party—a perspective it shares with the anti-Meany "social unionists" in the union hierarchy.

Soon after beginning publication, *ITT* moved into an orbit around the social-democratic Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee headed by Michael Harrington. DSOC functions as a kind of "think-tank" and organizing cadre for the anti-Meany bureaucrats.

An *ITT* editorial last spring hailed DSOC as "part of the important trend in the international socialist movement toward ending the historic split between Social-Democrats and Communists."

With a view to regrouping all social-democratic and Stalinist advocates of class collaboration under one umbrella, *ITT* has directed much attention to American supporters of "Eurocommunism." It has won the sympathy of some ex-members of the Communist Party (such as Dorothy Healey) who are critical of repressive practices in the USSR but firmly back the basic Stalinist policy of supporting capitalist politicians, parties, and governments.

Like these figures, *ITT* regards bu-

reaucratically misruled workers states such as the Soviet Union and China as forms of "socialism."

ITT sees drawing radicals back into the Democratic Party fold as a big part of its job.

Thus a March 23 editorial hailed Tom Hayden's 1976 Democratic primary race for U.S. Senator from California. It called Hayden's campaign a break from "the mood of protest and syndicalist politics that had characterized the New Left," even though Hayden gave explicit support to capitalism and linked his campaign to Gov. Jerry Brown, a vicious opponent of labor.

ITT promotes efforts to strengthen liberal influence in the Democratic Party through formations such as Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy and the Democratic Agenda, backed by anti-Meany union officials.

Of course, the paper tries to give its procapitalist electoral course a socialist veneer. The March 23 editorial purported to foresee an eventual "realignment of American politics in which one of the new major parties will be socialist." This was said to be a "more likely possibility" than "taking over the Democratic Party."

But such imaginative flights don't change the fact that *ITT* is aligned with those who seek to preserve and strengthen the capitalist parties' monopoly on American politics in the here-and-now.

Socialist union bureaucrats?

As with its support to the Democratic Party, *ITT* also trims its orientation toward liberal union bureaucrats with "socialist" rhetoric. Thus, an editorial in the September 6 issue asserted that the union chiefs are "moving against corporate power and toward socialism, whatever name may be given to it."

The editorial presented the AFL-CIO leadership's proposals to "streamline" the National Labor Relations Board as an indication of this new "socialist" course, as well as the prelude to a vast organizing drive.

"Perhaps the biggest straw in the wind is the AFL-CIO's establishment of its Labor Law Reform Task Force."

"The Task Force's significance lies... in the Task Force's strategy of forging a political coalition beyond trade union or conventional party politics—a coalition with women's, black, Hispanic and progressive organizations that may endure beyond the law reform campaign."

The victory of labor law reform in the House of Representatives was held to "bolster labor's developing left wing—those young unionists and international officials who advocate greater attention to organizing and allying with non-labor constituencies" *ITT* often names Fraser, Winpisinger, and Wurf as prominent in this "left wing."

Forestall independent break

The "political coalition" that *ITT* heralds as a new breakthrough in the struggle for socialism is nothing but the labor-Black-Democratic Party coalition that has been a central component of the trade-union bureaucracy's strategy since the New Deal.

The rise of independent movements of Blacks and women frayed this procapitalist coalition, and the blatantly prowar and racist stance of trade-union bureaucrats such as Meany introduced further strains.

The aim of liberal bureaucrats such as Wurf and Winpisinger is to revive this coalition by giving the bureaucracy a more progressive image. Their aim is not to build an alliance of labor and the oppressed that can fight for the needs of working people. Instead, they want to establish a stronger pressure group that they hope can wheedle concessions from capitalist politicians—through what *ITT* flatteringly refers to as "sophisticated lobbying."

Above all, these bureaucrats are determined to forestall any break with

the capitalist component of the coalition—the Democratic Party. That means the bureaucrats can't give all-out support to the struggles of trade unionists, women, Blacks, and others. To do so would shatter the alliance with the Democrats.

A massive drive to organize the unorganized—with or without a "streamlined" NLRB—would introduce comparable fissures into the coalition.

ITT's socialist phraseology—like that of DSOC—has its uses from the bureaucrats' point of view. Although only a small number of American workers consider themselves socialists at this time, millions are thinking about more effective means of struggle to beat back the ruling-class drive against labor. They realize that the class-collaborationist methods proposed by the bureaucrats in the past aren't working. By placing a "socialist" label on the shopworn strategy of backing the Democrats, ITT helps the bureaucrats' efforts to sell it as a "new," more militant course.

Like the liberal bureaucrats, ITT holds that the demands of Blacks and women have to take a back seat to the priorities set by the union officialdom and its Democratic Party allies.

The trade-off

The September 6 ITT offers a more sophisticated formulation of this idea than is likely to be heard from George Meany or his ilk.

"The trade unions will have to become more sensitive to the concerns of their potential allies . . . if a labor-centered coalition is to succeed. Those groups in turn will have to shape their programs more clearly to working-class needs if they are to move side by side with the labor movement against their common corporate enemy."

Blacks, women, and other allies of the workers are thus required to "shape their programs" to meet the specifications of the liberal bureaucrats whom ITT misidentifies with the "labor movement." In return, these leaders need only provide a more "sensitive" brand of rhetoric than Meany or Shanker dish out. Not a very delectable trade for Blacks and women!

How are they to "shape their programs"? ITT's evolution provides a clue.

The fight for quotas to overcome discriminatory hiring practices has been set aside in deference to the views of the Wurfs and Winpisingers.

Similarly, the fight for unconditional amnesty for undocumented workers is being downgraded, since the union bureaucrats oppose such a measure.

By pulling back from opposition to the Experimental Negotiating Agreement in steel, ITT "shaped its program" on this issue to match that of the union officialdom.

Workers' real interests

The fact is that the demands of Blacks, women, immigrant workers, and other oppressed people for equality and democratic rights—like those of the majority of workers in basic steel who oppose the ENA—are far more representative of the needs of rank-and-file workers than the policies of Fraser, Winpisinger, Wurf, or other bureaucrats.

ITT's strategy is not the road to working-class unity, but the road to the subordination of the workers to the racist, sexist, and antilabor policies of the Democratic Party. To maintain its links with the liberal bureaucrats, ITT will have to oppose any steps that lead toward a break with the Democrats and the creation of a labor party based on the interests and struggles of all working people.

The editors of *In These Times* proclaim they are blazing a trail to the working masses by plunging into the Democratic Party and flattering class-collaborationist union heads. The fact is that regardless of the intentions of the initiators of ITT, the road they have chosen leads into the camp of labor's enemies.

In Review

Inside a nuclear power plant

More Nuclear Power Stations. Directed by Per Mannstaedt. Camera by Teit Jorgensen. A Flip Film Production (Denmark). Running time: fifty minutes.

The Last Resort. Directed by Daniel Keller. Produced by Green Mountain Post Films. Executive Producer: Charles Light. Running time: sixty minutes.

Both films available in 16 mm for rental from Green Mountain Post Films, Box 177, Montague, Massachusetts 01351.

Before the nuclear age, the amount of radioactivity measured as a curie was considered a lot.

Today, a big hospital, with its X-ray machines and radiation treatment equipment, might turn out two curies in one year.

All the nuclear weapons tests and explosions of the past thirty years have produced 100 million curies.

A modest-sized nuclear power plant generates about 10 billion curies per year.

This terrifying fact is dropped rather off-handedly in the Danish film *More*

radiation than the background levels found in nature.

The German government isn't interested in lowering the limit, we hear, because it would cost too much.

One of the most striking aspects we see in the nuclear plant is the highly elaborate measures designed to safeguard against even the slightest exposure of humans to radioactivity.

These measures underscore the grave dangers inherent in nuclear power. But their very complexity leaves the viewer convinced that they are no guarantee of safety against the hazards that called them into being.

We go from the reactor to the reprocessing plant, where spent nuclear fuel is dissolved to retrieve elements that can be reused. The rest has to be buried.

We watch through three feet of special glass as robot tools cut up fuel rods. We watch radioactive waste being dumped into drums, then hauled away by a forklift shielded with three feet of lead.

The film shows huge reactor assemblies, still fiercely radioactive, being loaded onto a truck and hauled away, over highways busy with speeding cars, through populated towns and villages.

Finally we get to the dump—an abandoned salt mine in West Germany. The German government has declared it safe to fill up the mine with radioactive wastes.

Salt mines are supposed to be water-free. Water would dissolve the wastes and carry them off, perhaps into drinking water all over Europe.

The narrator tells us that the mine shaft next to the one we see was filled with water.

Nuclear officials said the shaft filled because of improper salt mining techniques.

And you wonder. What will keep this shaft from filling too?

More Nuclear Power Stations is a stunning film, magnificently photographed in color. It leaves the viewer with a strong impression of the dangers of nuclear technology. Many of the shots inside the plants are especially striking in this way.

Without rising to polemics, or argument, by simply letting the facts speak for themselves, *More Nuclear Power Stations* makes a strong statement against nuclear power.

Seabrook, New Hampshire, has been a major focus of the fight against nuclear power in the United States.

The Last Resort is a film about the years-long battle against Public Service Corporation's (PSC) plan to build twin 1,200-megawatt nuclear generators on the seacoast.

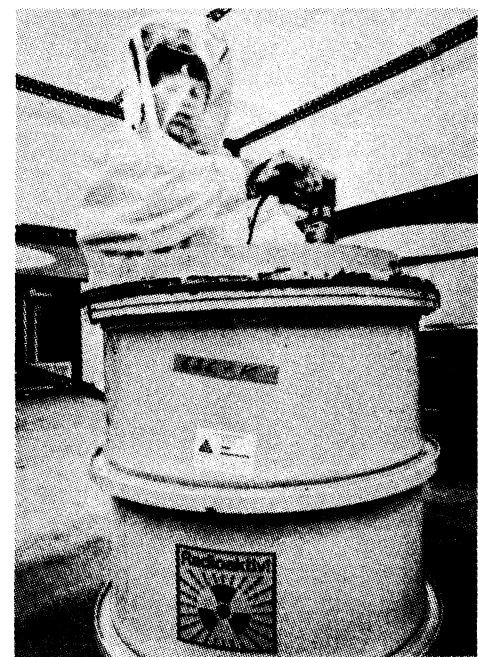
Written by two participants in the struggle, Harvey Wasserman and Daniel Keller, *The Last Resort* takes us to

Seabrook to see what townspeople think about having those plants in their backyards.

We see New Hampshire's Gov. Mel-drim Thomson, in league with the PSC, minimizing the dangers of nuclear power. In one sequence, Thomson asserts that the state can easily deal with nuclear power since it can deal with sharks.

This echoes the claims of PSC President William Tallman, who refers to nuclear waste as a "nonproblem," although he never explains what will happen to the waste.

The filmmakers interview at length Antonio Santasucci, a lifelong Seabrook resident. Santasucci, a middle-



aged worker, is vehemently opposed to nuclear power. He points out that constructing the nukes will only mean increased taxes for Seabrook.

The film then cuts to a campaign billboard: "Keep taxes down. Vote for Thomson for governor."

The film also shows us candidate Jimmy Carter, hustling votes in New Hampshire in August 1976, telling a crowd that nuclear power should only be used as a "last resort." Unfortunately, *The Last Resort* doesn't go into the details of President Jimmy Carter's energy plan, which calls for building more than 200 more nuclear plants.

The Last Resort gives extended looks at two occupations of the Seabrook site, one involving 18 people, the other about 180 and the nonviolent training that preceded the actions.

While not as educational on the general subject of nuclear power as *More Nuclear Power Stations*, *The Last Resort* gives a glimpse into how and why some people have become opponents of nuclear power.

Tony Santasucci sums up their feelings: "I may be small, but I don't back down."

—Arnold Weissberg

Film

Nuclear Power Stations. The information is all the more frightening delivered in this casual way.

In the same calm measured, even tones, the film makes an airtight case against nuclear power.

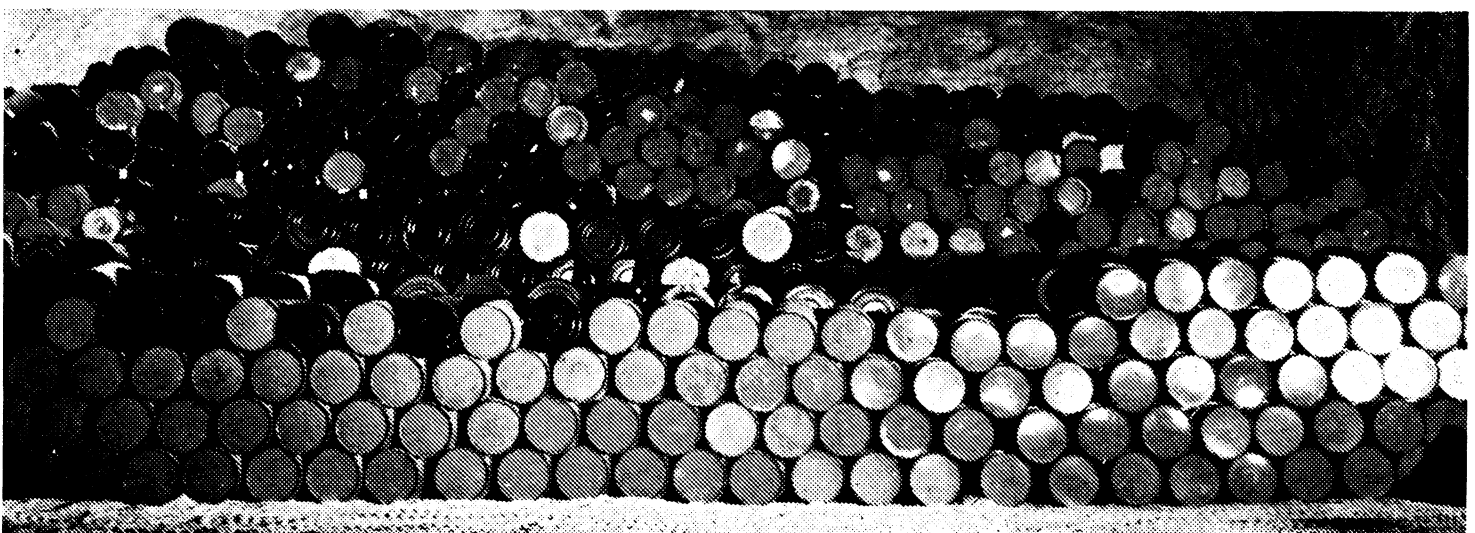
More Nuclear Power Stations takes us step by step through virtually the entire nuclear fuel cycle, excepting only mining (presumably because no uranium is mined in Europe). We see a nuclear plant in operation, the removal and storage of the radioactive wastes, and attempts at extracting usable radioactive by-products.

The camera crew takes us inside a medium-sized nuclear plant on the Rhein River. The plant, we learn, uses 5 percent of all the Rhein's water.

We see the heavy security, air locks, the control room with its vast display of meters, dials, lights, and switches.

Inside the plant, we watch normal operations. We see workers wearing disposable shoe coverings and disposable gloves that must be discarded after one wearing. We see the radiation indicators each worker must use. We see the emergency escape air lock out of the building, with its door always kept open.

We learn that German nuclear workers are exposed to fifty times more



Drums containing radioactive wastes in German salt mine

...farmers

Continued from page 4

existence.

Charlie Heimark, a Minnesota farmer active in the AAM, correctly observes, "If big business takes over agriculture . . . the conglomerates will set their own profits and make sure they get them."

And today's farmers, it might be added, will be working as hired help at subsistence wages—if they work at all.

The dilemma farmers face today is not new. It's the same financial squeeze that has periodically and permanently wiped out millions of farmers during the past 100 years.

"The politicians said we suffered from overproduction," cried Mary Lease, a wheatfield farm leader during the agricultural crisis of the 1890s. "Overproduction when 10,000 little children starve to death every year in the United States . . . ? The parties [Democratic and Republican] lie to us and political speakers mislead us."

In response to falling prices for grain she advised Kansas farmers to "raise less corn and more Hell."

Out of the agricultural crisis of the 1890s, in which thousands of small farmers lost their land, emerged a massive farmers movement. The populists, as they were called, charted a course considerably more ambitious and radical than the current strike actions and demonstrations of the AAM.

In the 1890 election they broke with the Democrats and Republicans and formed a third political party—the People's Party.

In addition to aid for farmers, its platform included demands for government ownership of railroads, and telegraph and telephone companies; the return to the government of excess land held by railroads and other corporations; a postal savings bank to compete with private banks; and a graduated income tax.

In 1890 the People's Party elected nine members of congress and four senators to office under its banner. In the 1892 presidential election it polled more than a million votes for its candidate James Weaver.

But in 1896 the populist movement met the same fate that has crushed every farmers' revolt since then—it became incorporated back into the dual parties of big business and, as an organization devoted to farmers' interests, disappeared with hardly a trace.

Similarly today, the Democratic and Republican parties are busily laying plans to sidetrack the young AAM before it ever develops to the stage reached by the populists.

During his election campaign Carter promised to raise farm price supports to equal the cost of producing a crop. Once in office he pressed for price support levels that mean bankruptcy for many farmers.

Carter's Secretary of Agriculture Robert Bergland arrogantly and confidently predicts little will come of farmers' strike efforts.

"Farm strikes have been threatened before but never sustained," he says. "When it comes time to plant, they'll get in the field because if they don't, they have nothing, no chance of an income next fall."

Meanwhile, the December 6 *Wall Street Journal* reports that the Republicans are planning to propose reopening the 1977 farm bill to increase subsidies to farmers. But only because they're sure it won't pass.

"Because urban Democrats likely would defeat such a measure," explains the *Journal*, "rural Republicans could vote for higher farm subsidies without worrying that new government spending, which they generally oppose, actually would occur."

It's the old hard cop, soft cop flim-flam that they've been pulling for decades.

The current mobilizations of farmers

in demonstrations against the government's policies and the food monopolies is a step in the right direction. It deserves the support not only of all working farmers but of all workers.

But decisively absent in all the farm revolts has been an effective fusing of farmer and worker interests against their common enemy.

It's hardly surprising that the AAM has not spontaneously reached out to organized labor for solidarity and support. Under its current leadership, organized labor has shown little ability or solidarity in defending even its own members against the corporate



Both working farmers and consumers suffer from squeeze by big food conglomerates.

bosses and their political instruments, the Democratic and Republican parties.

The need for the labor movement to break with its class-collaborationist policies is decisive not only for workers but for farmers and every other oppressed sector of American society.

An independent labor party based on a revitalized trade union movement could project an agricultural program around which workers and farmers could unite in common interest.

Such a platform could include:

- A federal program set up and administered by elected representatives of working farmers, to guarantee the full cost of production on all farm commodities.
- Worker-farmer price committees to open the books of the food monopolies and show that it is their exorbitant profits, and not the demands of farmers, that are responsible for high food prices.

• No limitation on crops so long as people suffer from hunger anywhere in the world.

• Government food subsidies for families living on substandard diets.

• Moratoriums on repayment of distress loans made to working farmers as long as debtors need them.

• Abolition of sharecropping and landlordism—crops to those who grow them, land to those who work it.

The growing farmers movement can help work toward such a program by establishing exchanges of information and speakers between workers and farmers, comparing experiences and developing cooperation in fighting to solve economic problems, and shaping a cooperative course toward independent labor political action.

The question of independent labor political action is crucial for both workers and farmers. And the present upsurge in farmer demonstrations and actions can only gain in effectiveness in so far as they remain independent of the dual parties of corporate rule.

...CASA

Continued from page 19

And what about the many other activists who helped organize and participated in the San Antonio conference? Most of them showed their "political immaturity" by refusing to support CASA's exclusionary attitude. Will they be purged too?

Red-baiting and exclusion have a logic of their own. Since these tactics are designed to suppress political ideas, the list of targets is endless. Anyone who has differences with the purgers is likely to be next.

Rodriguez hints at this in his article: "Many of those who sought neutrality in the struggle against Trotskyism . . . consciously or unconsciously fell into positions of complicity with opportunism"—that is, the SWP, people who "serve" "imperialist interests."

Activists at the conference rejected the exclusionary approach of CASA. They clearly indicated their sentiment that the conference should be the beginning of an ongoing, non-exclusionary movement to defend undocumented immigrants.

The need for such a movement is more pressing than ever. Last May, José Angel Gutiérrez wrote in the "Call for Action": "A crisis for all Spanish-surnamed persons within the US of A is rapidly approaching. The very same man our Raza supported for the Presidency, now seeks to deport us."

Since then, we've seen the following developments:

- Carter has presented to Congress his plan for a crackdown on immigrants;
- Deportations have passed the million-a-year mark, rivaling all-time records set during "Operation Wet-back" in the 1950s;
- A Texas appeals court has ruled that undocumented immigrants have no right to a free public education;
- The number of political refugees threatened with deportation has grown alarmingly.

The crisis Gutiérrez spoke of has arrived. Now is the time for action. What we do now will affect the future of Latinos in this country for years, maybe decades.

This situation demands that all groups put aside their differences on other questions and unite in action in defense of the undocumented. The government has declared war on us. Our priority must be the struggle against its racist drive against immigrants and all Chicanos and Latinos.

...abortion

Continued from back page

women who used to receive Medicaid abortions, some 200,000, will be forced to seek alternatives. Two hundred thousand forced to choose between "suicide, motherhood, or madness"—as a recent government panel itself concluded.

The death count has begun. One Chicana died in Texas after a botched abortion in Mexico. Four more Chicanas were hospitalized with complications arising from cheap abortions.

It's no accident that Chicanas, Blacks, and Puerto Ricans are the first victims of the fund cutoff. They have been the first target of the anti-abortion offensive all along.

Surveys in New Jersey and Connecticut, two states in which abortion funds have been cut off, reveal an increase in what are delicately termed "nonprofessional" abortions. They also report an increase in women seeking abortions during the second trimester of pregnancy, because they have had to wait for weeks to save up the money.

But the enemies of women's rights are not satisfied yet. Nellie Gray, president of the anti-abortion "March for Life," has announced a vigorous campaign to stop all funding when the present legislation comes up for renewal in April.

What does the majority of women want? Thousands of women at the national women's conference in Houston voiced their support for abortion rights and Medicaid funds. According to a recent Associated Press-NBC News poll, a majority of Americans agree with these positions. The passage of the Hyde amendment shows that Carter and Congress have nothing but contempt for majority opinion.

Chris Brim, a spokesperson for the National Abortion Rights Action League, warned that the government has every intention of expanding its anti-abortion offensive. Women "can't count on the courts. . . they can't count on Congress. . . They've got to realize that this is not something that is just affecting poor women. These are only the front ranks, the easy ones to get."

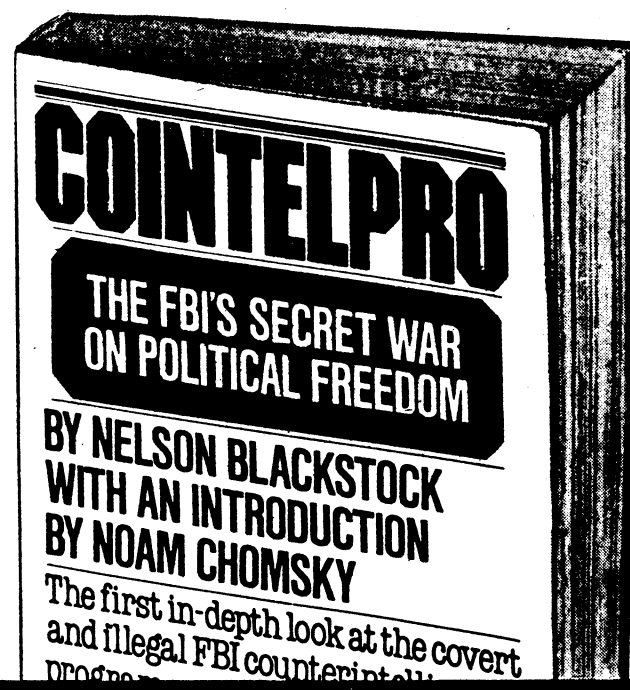
What is needed to stop the Carter administration's war on legal abortion and to overturn the Hyde amendment, is a massive outpouring of all women's rights supporters—from the feminist movement; the campuses; the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities; and the labor movement.

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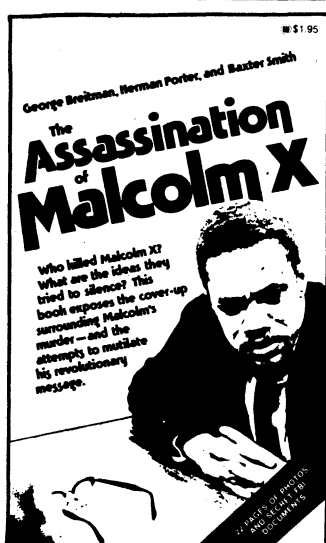
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THE MILITANT

Mass layoff angers iron ore workers

After ending strike, 'we were shafted'

By Stu Singer

AURORA, Minn., Dec. 13—The water tower in this small Mesabi Iron Range mining town says it is the "taconite capital." But right now it is the capital of a lot of angry taconite (iron ore) miners.

"We were shafted," says Joe Smilanich, president of United Steelworkers Local 4108 at Erie Mining Company.

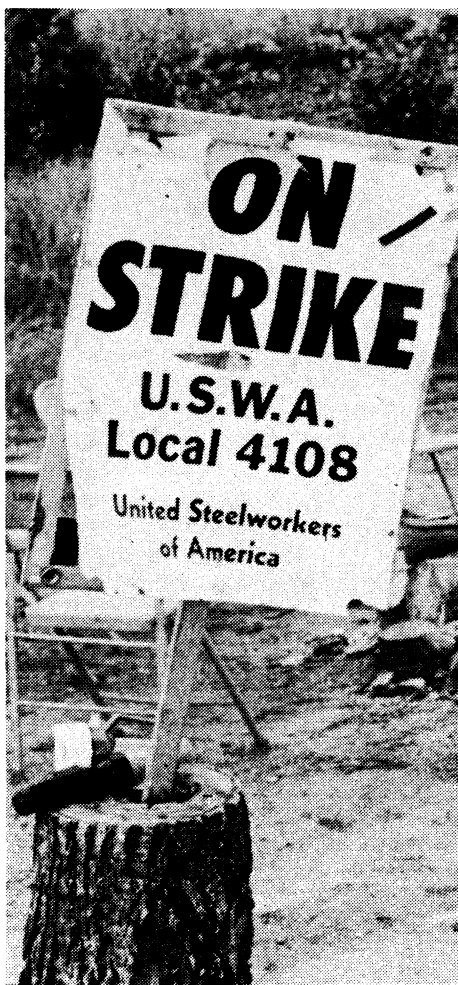
After approving a contract offer on December 10 to end their long and bitter strike, the workers were in-

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formed that only about 200 out of the more than 2,000 employees would go back to work. The rest are laid off until "sometime after the first of the year."

This morning Local 4108 members came into their large, modern union hall in the center of town to sign up for unemployment benefits. The county office in Virginia, twenty miles west, was afraid of being flooded by requests and arranged for the union hall to be used.



Militant/Andy Rose

While Smilanich talked to the *Militant*, he was constantly asked by one union member after another, "Does our insurance continue?"

The company pays it for six months while you're on layoff, or for two years if you have twenty years seniority," Smilanich explained.

"How long do SUB [supplemental unemployment benefits, available to workers who have been in the union more than two years] benefits last?"

"Until the fund runs out, and it won't last too long with this many people collecting it."

Local 4108 members voted by 1,052 to 352 to accept a contract similar to that offered all the other locals that have returned to work (see story on page 16). This vote registered the biggest opposition to the settlement terms yet in the current round of voting.

There was strong feeling, Smilanich said, that 100 percent of the workers must be covered by incentive pay rather than the 75 percent minimum offered by the company. But he and the rest of the negotiating committee carried the majority with their belief that the solidarity of the strike had been broken and this was the best they could get.

Some progress was made on health and safety issues, especially protection from taconite dust.

The mass layoff was announced as soon as the vote was finished. The company is only keeping enough workers to maintain its equipment and load its 2.5-million-ton stockpile of taconite pellets onto railroad cars for shipment.

The layoff is a prime example of the irrationality of capitalist production. Erie Mining says that its owners—Bethlehem Steel, Youngstown Sheet & Tube, Interlake, and Stelco (Steel Company of Canada)—don't need much taconite now.

But if the company wanted to, Smilanich points out, it could sell taconite on the open market to other companies that do need it. Erie's owners feel they can maximize their profits by selling off their stockpile, then closing the plant. The suffering of their employees is of no consequence in this profit decision.

Looking back, I asked Smilanich, should the threat of layoffs have been raised in negotiations?

"Well," he answered, "these are production decisions by the company, and they're not part of the issues which we negotiated."

Many miners are sure to conclude, however, that it's high time they did demand a union say over production decisions that so drastically affect their lives and income.

Abortion 'compromise' in Congress

Bipartisan attack on women's rights

By Shelley Kramer

The Democrats and Republicans have cynically dressed up their latest attack on legal abortion as a "compromise" and even as a "victory" for women.

On December 7, Congress passed a new version of the Hyde amendment, continuing the ban on most Medicaid funds for abortions.

The final House-Senate "compromise" is no compromise at all. It is a setback for abortion rights and a threat to the rights of all women.

The new bill allows abortion funding only in cases of rape and incest—"when promptly reported," or when the mother would suffer "severe and long-lasting physical health damage"—if two doctors agree.

On Capitol Hill, Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) hailed the bill as a "victory for humanity and enlightenment . . . a major victory for women's rights."

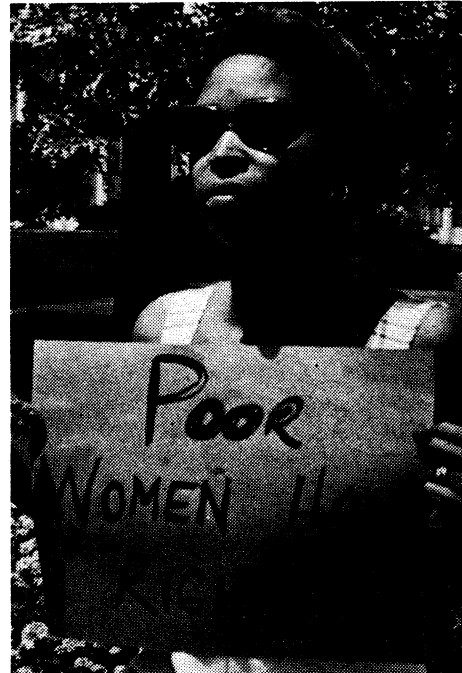
"Abortions for poor women in this country have been liberalized under the compromise language," declared Sen. Edward Brooke (R-Mass.).

The fact of the matter is that the terms of the new bill are scarcely different than the conditions under which women were sometimes able to obtain hospital abortions before 1973. The "enlightened" politicians' decision to allow abortions for rape and incest, which was prohibited under last year's Hyde amendment, is only an attempt to cover up the gravity of their attack.

Supporters of abortion rights were quick to point this out.

"It is a brutal treatment of women with medical needs for abortions," said Aryeh Neier, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union. "This law denies women the right to control their destiny; it denies doctors the right to practice medicine; it imposes the religious views of some groups on others; it interferes with the right to privacy; and it penalizes the poor."

The Hyde amendment, in other words, directly contradicts the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion as a woman's right to choose.



Militant/Mike Skinner

January protests set

January 22 marks the fifth anniversary of the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. Chapters of the National Organization for Women and coalitions across the country are organizing actions focused around this date to both commemorate the 1973 victory and to protest the government's stepped-up attacks on abortion rights.

California: statewide rally in Sacramento January 23.

Ohio: statewide rally in Akron January 21.

Kentucky: demonstration in Frankfort January 22.

Maryland: statewide rally in Annapolis January 22.

New Jersey: speak-out on abortion January 29 at Rutgers University, Newark.

New York: NOW-New York plans a public activity in January for abortion rights and against sterilization abuse.

Actions in support of the Equal Rights Amendment are also planned for January. In Arizona, a recent minority women's conference called a pro-ERA rally for January 21 in Phoenix. In Virginia, Labor for Equal Rights Now, a coalition of trade unionists in support of the ERA, is organizing a January 22 rally in Richmond.

Even the *New York Times* was forced to admit that "Congress has endorsed an abortion law that is a defeat."

The most conservative estimates—by politicians seeking to minimize their betrayals—are that two-thirds of

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